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ABSTRACT

Presented are general session and discussion group reports from a citizenship conference held in Washington, D.C. in May, 1950. Sponsored by the National Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice, the conference provided a forum for examination of the functions and duties of American citizenship after World War II. Conference participants included representatives from civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups. The conference theme was "Loyal Citizens in Action--You Are Your Government." The proceedings are presented in three major sections, which correspond to the major conference topics. The first section focuses on voting. Opening speeches dealt with how voters decide among candidates and ways to encourage high voter turnout. The second section presents speeches and discussion relating to the need for citizens to base participation upon accurate information. Topics discussed include providing field-trip experiences in government agencies to students and encouraging newspaper editors to present broad outlines of political facts and information. The final section offers discussion about how organizations can improve citizenship. Recommendations include that schools should help students understand the privileges and obligations of citizenship, the federal government should organize a National Commission on Citizenship, and community citizenship organizations should coordinate their activities. (DB)

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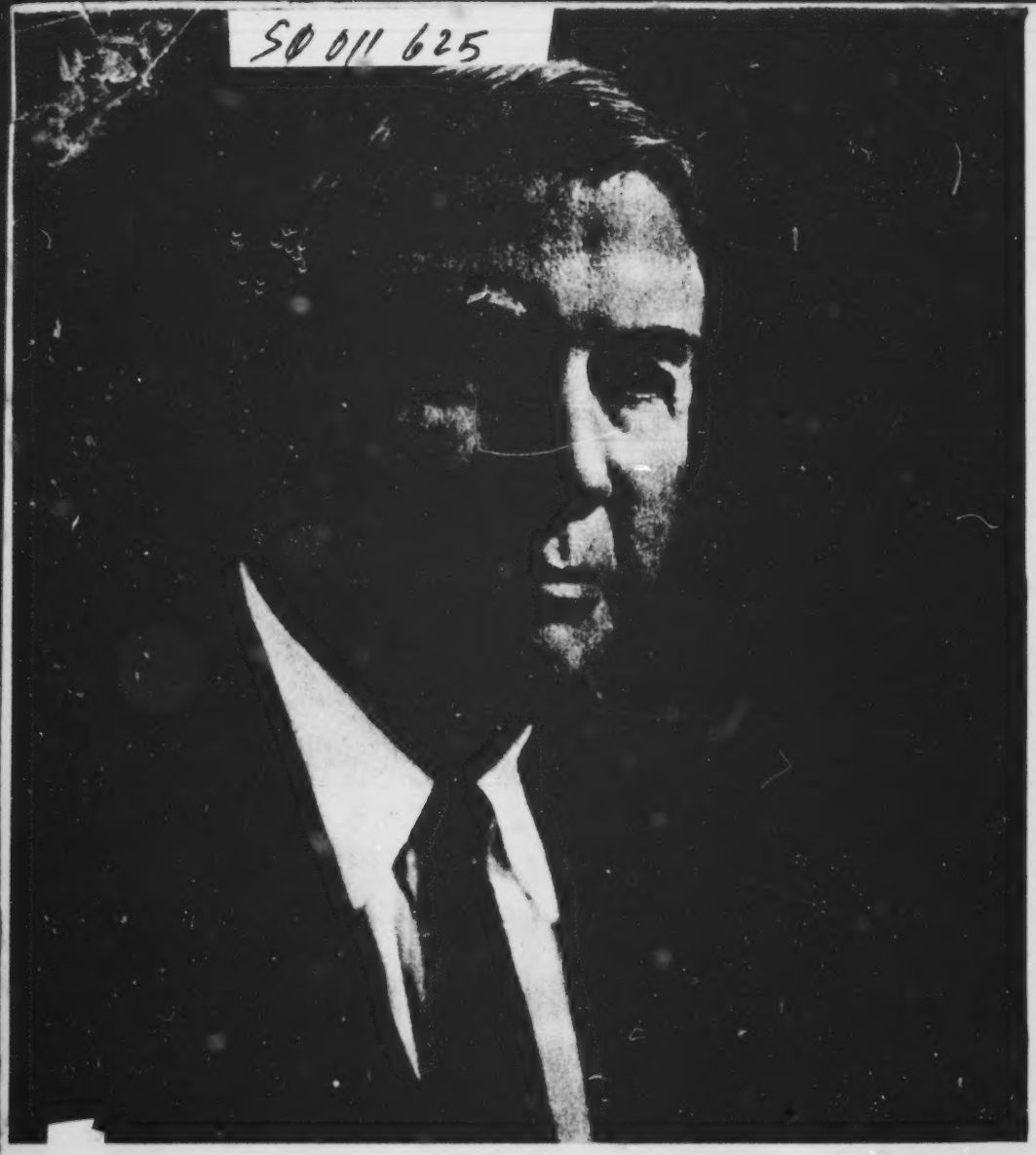

THE HONORABLE ALBEN W. BARKLEY
Vice President of the United States
For the Second Year Honorary Chairman of the Conference

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FIFTH

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

Under Auspices
of the
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
and the
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.
May 20-24, 1950

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A CONFERENCE such as this is a crystal clear manifestation of loyal citizenship in action. Constituted as it is, and representing the numerous and various outstanding civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups of the country, it is the voice of all our people and therefore can truly be called the workshop of democracy.

THE HONORABLE J. HOWARD MCGRATH
Attorney General of the United States

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BEFORE THE CONFERENCE BEGAN

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FRANCIS J. HAAS, chairman, Executive Committee, Commission on American Citizenship, Catholic University, and Bishop of Grand Rapids.
ARTHUR HAMILTON, youth delegate, Boy Scouts of America
MERRILL F. HARTSHORN, executive secretary, National Council for Social Studies, NEA
EARLE T. HAWKINS, president, Maryland State Teachers College
CLAUDE E. HAWLEY, associate chief, Social Sciences, Division of Higher Education, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency
JOHANNA HILGERS, youth delegate, YWCA
ALICE SCOTT HYATT, director, Special Services, Social Service Division, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency

(Continued on page 103)

APPRECIATION

It would be impossible to single out the hundreds of people who gave generously and wholeheartedly to the Fifth National Conference on Citizenship. However, the Committee would be remiss if thanks were not written into the record

To the joint staffs of the Department of Justice and the National Education Association, who gave far beyond the call of duty—

To the planning committees, the speakers, the group leaders, for the incalculable amount of time and thought they gave that the conference might be successful—

To the District of Columbia schools and their staffs, who cooperated in every regard, particularly in the lovely choruses at each general session—

To the national and local offices of Boy Scouts of America, particularly to the corps of boys who helped throughout the conference—

To the American Legion for the Honor Color Guard—

To the Army and Marine Bands for their spirited music—

To the group of coffee hour hostesses and to the organizations that participated as sponsors of these events—

To the luncheon and dinner hostesses and to their chairman—

To the exhibitors for their displays—

To the singing trio from the Fairfax League of Women Voters, and their snappy limericks—

To the youth delegates for their spice—

To local newspapers, radio stations, and the motion picture association for broadening the conference influence—

And, finally, to the 500 organizations and the near 1000 delegates who made the conference theirs by their generous cooperation and enthusiastic participation.

EVAN E. EVANS
Chairman of the Conference Committee

FROM THE PROGRAM

History

The series of national citizenship conferences that began in Philadelphia, May 17-18, 1946, grew out of the effort of the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association to discover what was being done in the field of citizenship and to cooperate with other organizations working in the same area. Both the first conference in Philadelphia in 1946 and the second conference in Boston in 1947 had the advice and cooperation of the United States Department of Justice. In the third, fourth, and fifth conferences, the Department of Justice has been co-sponsor with the Association.

Reasons for the Conference

In planning the First National Conference the Committee in charge outlined the following pertinent points:

That never before in the history of the world has it been so important to bring civic interest and participation to a high level;

That there are many leading national organizations which play a part or can play a part in developing better practices in good citizenship;

That these organizations are all working independently, with much duplication and with varying degrees of success;

That the contributions of these organizations have had real value, and that this value can be increased many fold if the various group efforts are coordinated;

That there are practices, programs, and techniques which are effective in developing good citizenship—and other practices, programs, and techniques which are of doubtful or negative value;

That there is need for a concerted nationwide effort to evaluate and attempt to improve the programs of various groups;

PLANNING THE CONFERENCE

TOP LEFT—*Heads of the two sponsoring agencies confer: NEA Executive Secretary Willard E. Givens and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath at the Attorney General's desk.* TOP RIGHT—*Mr. Evan E. Evans, chairman of the Conference Committee, and Mrs. Harold A. Stone of the League of Women Voters, with the Attorney General.* CENTER—*Representatives of approximately 50 national organizations meet at one of several planning sessions.* BOTTOM LEFT—*The Honorable Carl B. Hyatt and Dr. Richard B. Kennan, two members of the Conference Executive Committee, join Dr. Givens, Mr. Evans, and Mrs. Stone.* BOTTOM RIGHT—*Miss Klaudia Steidle, 17-year-old high school senior, a conference group leader, and Mrs. Harold Hitz Burton, wife of the Associate Supreme Court Justice, conference sponsor, examine some of the conference reports.*

That there is often a tendency for sincerely interested groups to pay more attention to the dramatic and spectacular;

That there is likewise the danger of a group developing programs which have more results in the way of publicizing the group itself than in developing effective and constructive citizenship;

That the ineffectiveness of such programs often comes not from wilful desire to advertise one's good deeds, but from a lack of knowledge of types of programs which have proved successful;

That it would, therefore, be highly desirable to bring together in conferences representatives of the various outstanding civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups of the country who would give several days' serious attention to the following

Objectives of the Conference

To re-examine the functions and duties of American citizenship in today's world.

To assist in the development of more dynamic procedures for making citizenship more effective.

To indicate the ways and means by which various organizations may contribute concretely to the development of a more active, alert, enlightened, conscientious, and progressive citizenry in our country.

Theme of the Conference

LOYAL CITIZENS IN ACTION—You ARE Your Government

Plan of the Conference

The policies and program of the fifth conference were developed with continuing advice and cooperation of committees whose membership totaled more than a hundred people, representing almost as many organizations and agencies. Focus of theme and discussion topics, divisions of time, pattern and mechanics of the conference were, in so far as possible, in accordance with majority decisions of these groups.

Speakers at the conferences stimulated their audiences to serious and constructive thinking, which the committee sought to make vocal in twenty small discussion groups. Assignments to discussion groups were made with a view to representing varied interests in each group.

DISCUSSION TOPICS

Intelligent Voting, Every Citizen Voting
Accurate Information, Life Blood of Citizenhip
Improving Citizenship Through Our Organizations

Delegates in great numbers asked for more emphasis on the discussion sections in coming conferences.

THE OPENING GENERAL SESSION

ALMIGHTY AND ETERNAL GOD, Who hast infused into the souls of men the virtue we call patriotism, look down with favor upon Thy children gathered here this day. We offer Thee our profound thanks for the boon of citizenship in this country which Thou hast so bountifully blessed even as we commit to Thy protection and care our country, our leaders, our homes, and all that we possess.

Lead us by Thy wisdom;
Restrain us by Thy justice;
Comfort us by Thy mercy;
Defend us by Thy power;

Grant to all our citizens a steadfast heart which no unworthy passion can degrade; an unconquerable heart which no sorrow can cast down; an upright heart which no lowly ambition can lead astray.

Guide and protect us that we may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy holy law to the end that we may be preserved in union and in Thy peace—and after enjoying the blessings of this life, may we be admitted to those which are eternal to rejoice with Thee in the heavenly country. Through the merits of Jesus Christ, Thy Son and our Saviour. Amen

MATTHEW M. HANLEY, O.P.
Dominican House of Studies
Catholic University of America

REPRESENTATIVES OF SPONSORING AGENCIES SET THE STAGE

CARL B. HYATT, *director of the Attorney General's Citizenship Program*, presiding

To those of us who look back to the Philadelphia meeting, it is a little difficult to realize that 500 public and private organizations are represented in this conference and over 1000 delegates have indicated their intention of participating. They represent all branches of the government; schools, public and private; labor and industry; buyer associations; civic groups; and numerous other groups and interests. We have come to consider unselfishly and objectively some of the problems that face our various groups. This is truly democracy at work.

ANDREW D. HOLT, *president of the National Education Association*

There is only one basis on which I can sincerely welcome you, and that is that I, and all the other educators present, welcome this opportunity to get from your wisdom, from your rich experience, some helps in our solutions of the greatest problem facing our schools—the training of the youth of our nation. I hope you're going to enjoy this conference as much as I'm going to enjoy it. I want you to express your opinions as freely as I expect to express mine. I hope you listen attentively to others as I intend to listen. . . . And, finally, I hope you will leave this meeting filled with new ideals and new inspirations that will help you to be better citizens and make better citizens of others. . . .

J. HOWARD MCGRATH, *Attorney General of the United States*

You could not, of course, come to a finer city anywhere in the United States to hold this important conference than the city of Washington—because we like to think of the city of Washington as being a city that truly belongs to every American. It does not belong only to the people who live here and work here. It is likewise your city. No matter where you come from, it is the capital city, it is the national city, it is the second home of every American. And so we are also pleased to welcome our fellow countrymen when they come here. . .

I'm happy to join with you this morning to express the thanks and appreciation of the Department of Justice, one of the co-sponsors with the National Education Association, of this wonderful work you are doing with the National Conference on Citizenship. . . . The work that you are doing to make better citizens of the United States, better citizens throughout the world, is truly the work of God. It is truly the work of universal peace—because nothing can so guarantee the peace of the world as a group from the

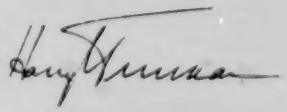
United States, understanding and thoroughly appreciating the great values that are incorporated in the title, American Citizen.

So the work that you are doing is indeed a noble work for God and for country, the morale of our citizens, and all the other things that go to make up a good citizen.

My friends, I am privileged this morning to bring you greetings and a message from the President of the United States. In a letter which he has addressed to me here, he expresses his deep and sincere interest in your work.

The President writes:

> It is again a deep pleasure to extend greetings and send a message of good will to the men, women, and youth participating in the National Conference on Citizenship—a conference so essential and timely. May your fifth annual meeting, held this year in the Nation's Capital, be marked with abundant success.
>
> Representing every segment of wholesome American life, you assemble during a troubled era in the world's history. Yet, you also meet at a most challenging time—a time of immeasurable opportunities for improving the lot of humanity.
>
> Weary of wars and with a burning eagerness for peace, liberty-loving peoples everywhere yearn for freedom, security and brotherhood. No other objectives transcend these purposes in the realm of human relations. To these God-given rights the peoples of the world are surely entitled.
>
> It is most heartening when faithful and active citizens in a great conference look beyond the horizon of individual or special interests in seeking what is best for all.
>
> In meetings of this kind, you are making a magnificent contribution to the general welfare of the Nation. As long as patriotic citizens of every faith and creed, group and interest, gather in harmony and unity to discuss problems of the hour, we need have no fear of ideologies inimical to our precious democratic way of life.
>
> Steadfast in faith united in purpose, working together for a better and brighter America you help to bring about the blessings of peace, justice, and opportunity for peoples here and elsewhere.
>
> Very sincerely yours, (Signed)



EVAN E. EVANS, *chairman of the Conference Committee*

No higher honor has ever been given me than to call this Fifth National Conference on Citizenship to order. . . .

Seventy-two hours ago, right now, 65 of us educators from America, representing 44 of the 48 states, were in a conference with about a dozen of the leaders of the Conservative Party in the Parliament House in London. . . . We had the same privilege of talking with the leaders of the party in control and with the leaders of the minority party, talking with them about the effects of the Marshall Plan, about the reconstruction program, about the dangers from the East, about the sociological, the economical conditions of the people, how the people were living, of their hopes and their aspirations. Long before we had covered even half the distance, I became more certain than ever that we have here responsibilities that are much greater than I personally had realized in the past. Those people are watching us. They want democracy to work. They are looking to us not only with the hope that we will help them in their economic reconstruction problems, but with the hope we in America will make democracy such a vital, living thing that it will soon become theirs as well as it is now ours. . . .

I have here a letter that was handed to me about three weeks ago, from the Prime Minister of Sweden, as we were conferring with the government there. I would like to read just a part of it for you because it says so well the things that the leaders of the government of those countries were saying to us as they expressed hope that we would continue to lead in the practice of democracy:

> Sweden is proud of the fact that many citizens of the United States are of Swedish descent.
>
> In any democracy that wants to survive it is of paramount importance that we all do our best in order to develop our qualities and capacities as citizens. It is not enough to have the right to vote and the right to express freely one's criticism of the Government. Those rights must be used—and be used wisely, not only by some but by everybody.
>
> Ignorance, poverty, and unemployment never helped to develop any civic virtues. On the contrary, we all agree that in order to provide a basis for good citizenship, we must offer more and better educational and cultural facilities, maintain full employment, abolish poverty and bad housing conditions.

YOU ARE YOUR GOVERNMENT

IRVING M. IVES
United States Senator from New York

WHEN the distinguished attorney general referred to me as a part of the welcoming force in Washington, he seemed to present me in a rather ominous light. However, as a welcomer or greeter, as I'm supposed to be in part, I do want to tell you how strongly I feel regarding the purpose and intent of this gathering. I think it is a remarkable thing that year after year now—I believe this is the fifth one—and in a growing way, these conferences on citizenship have been held, and I certainly congratulate all of you here on this platform and all of you in the audience who have contributed to the success of these great undertakings.

Now, from the standpoint of a guest, which was the other position in the role I am now playing, I want to tell all of you how much I appreciate this opportunity to be with you and to appear on this program at this time.

We in this country take considerable satisfaction and no little pride in thinking of ourselves as an unusual people. This habit, common to us all, reflects a kind of national conceit which, if not irreproachable, is at least understandable. For as a matter of fact, both individually and as a nation, Americans *are* a very distinctive lot.

But we are also more than unusual and more than distinctive. In many respects we are downright inexplicable and unpredictable—often, let us admit frankly, with results of substantial disservice to ourselves and to our country.

The inexplicable and unpredictable nature of the American character and the American mentality is most sharply exposed in the attitude of the typical American citizen toward his government.

During the past few decades the accumulating complexity of our lives has necessitated government's cognizance of and entry into many areas of activity from which, in the eighteenth and even in the nineteenth century, government traditionally was excluded. Without in any way underestimating the ineffably profound effect on our lives and mores of religion, it is nevertheless true that, with the possible exception of the immediate family, government exercises today a more pervasive influence and produces a more forceful impact on our daily lives than any other single institution in our society.

That statement may perhaps strike you as an outrageously exaggerated generalization.

But the fact remains that today the volume of our municipal ordinances and of our county, state, and federal statutes is enormous. Their effect is so far-reaching that we can hardly make the slightest move or do the least thing without encountering the presence of official authority. And this official authority—government—constantly and inevitably determines our every action, no matter how mean or how great.

Nearly every conceivable aspect of all our lives and all our relationships with our neighbors is conditioned by governmental control and regulation: the food we eat; the clothes we wear; the ways in which we transport ourselves from place to place; the methods by which we conduct our businesses and manage our farms; the conditions under which we work; the prices we receive for the products of our labor; how we entertain ourselves; the caliber of the education our children receive; the very homes in which we live—indeed, the list is interminable.

From the most trivial occurrences of our daily routines to the most significant events of our existence here on earth—birth, marriage, parenthood, and death—we are confronted with government. Our lives are saturated with it. In short, in 1950, government in these United States has become literally and actually ubiquitous.

The reaction of the American people to this fundamental fact of our existence has been curious, to say the least. It is, in fact, precisely in this reaction that is provided the most striking evidence of what I have already referred to as the inexplicable and unpredictable character of the American temperament and the American mind.

A phenomenon of our political behavior is the fact that usually we Americans are acutely conscious of the practically immeasurable extent to which government affects our lives only when some sort of conflict arises between the operation of the laws and the rules of the body politic and what we as individuals would or would not do if permitted to be left to our own devices.

On these occasions our enforced awareness of the universality and the impersonality of the laws of government is often accompanied by feelings of resentment and indignation. Then we are disposed to regard government as an intruder and an interloper, an infringer on personal freedom, and a source of multifarious and evil impositions and restrictions on the rights of the individual.

This kind of reaction to the authority of government betrays an immaturity of citizenship and an ignorance of the basic principles of our democratic system which are neither flattering to the individual, salutary for society, nor encouraging for the future of the nation.

Such a response by the American citizen to the dominion of the polity as that which I have just described may be the result of an excessive preoccupation with the dictum attributed to Thomas Jefferson that that government is best which governs least.

But Jefferson also insisted that, "No man having a natural right to be the judge between himself and another, it is his natural duty to submit to the umpirage of an impartial third"—or, in other words, to the umpirage of government. Any definition of modern freedom must include that concept if peace, order, and liberty are to be preserved in our society.

When we as individuals fail to submit willingly to the restraint imposed on our conduct by government, or when we seek to evade the consequences of the laws and canons laid down by government, we are disregarding a fundamental tenet of our American heritage. And we are also ignoring a highly important political fact of life in a representative republic such as ours.

The principle which we overlook under these circumstances is that, under our democratic, republican system of government, under that system which we have inherited and which we maintain and defend and strive always to improve, personal liberty neither means nor implies unbridled license to do what we want to when we want to as we want to.

Our rights as citizens are curbed, our individual freedoms are curtailed *by ourselves* out of respect for the rights and freedom of others.

This conscious circumscription of the extent to which we are allowed to manage our own affairs, this abridgment of our individual actions we *freely* impose upon ourselves for the safety and the security and the happiness of all. We deliberately delimit the scope of our liberties in order to preserve those liberties vital and intact.

The essential political fact of life to which we in this country are too often blind is simply that in a representative democracy *we are our own government.*

This is an actuality of citizenship in the United States which we Americans apparently are unable to keep in our sight. Perhaps this situation is a case of our being too close to the forest to see the trees.

But whatever the reason, it is nevertheless unfortunately true that to many of us, government as such, means nothing more than a nebulous, unreal, and rather incomprehensible concept at which we rail and inveigh when things go wrong. We fail to realize that essentially government is an instrument of our own creation to be understood, appreciated, and, if necessary, to be altered.

Actually, of course, as Charles Evans Hughes once so lucidly and memorably expressed it, ". . . government is not something apart from us, or

above us . . . it is we ourselves organized in a grand cooperative effort to protect our mutual rights and to secure common opportunity and improvement."

The core of that utterance, its essential matter, is that government is "we ourselves organized" for a specific purpose. Mr. Hughes was giving eloquent re-expression to the basic democratic doctrine that, far from constituting the be-all and the end-all of life, government is merely a tool fashioned by the people *themselves* to serve *them* in *their* pursuit of happiness.

Government is we ourselves. In a democracy such is the reality of the situation which we would seek to ignore.

When we grumble at "The Government," it is ourselves at whom we grumble. And when we complain of excessive governmental regulation and control and refer bitterly to governmental intervention in our affairs and governmental regimentation of our lives, it is only ourselves of whom we complain. We—you and I—are responsible. And we—you and I—are at blame.

For we, the American people, through the exercise of our right to vote, are the only people on the face of the earth who can name our representatives in our local, state, and national governments. And we the American people, through the free expression of our opinion, are the only people on the face of the earth who can determine what laws and what statutes will be enacted, modified, or repealed by those officials whom we have elected to do our bidding.

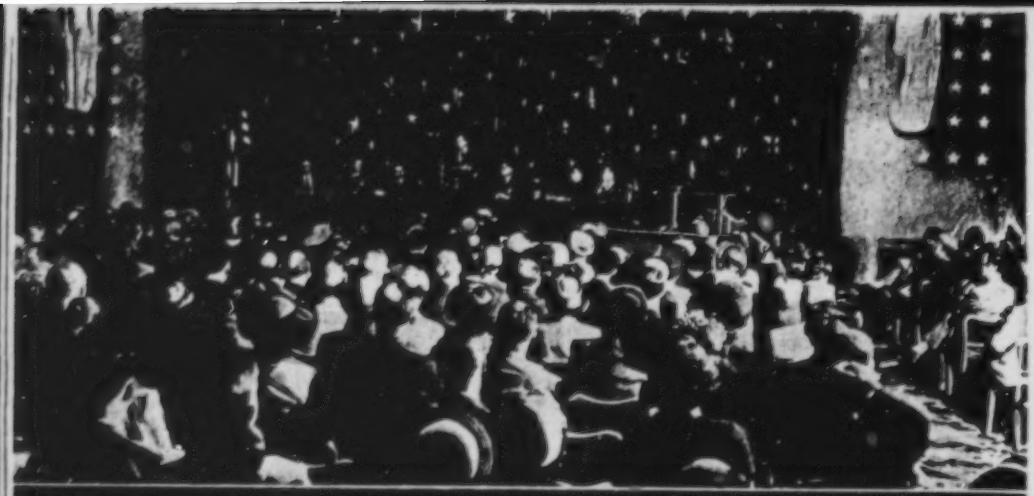
An interesting corollary of these truths, and one of which we are only rarely aware, logically suggests itself at this point.

The effects produced by the democratic procedures just reviewed are produced both positively and negatively—positively when we do vote and when we do express our opinion on current affairs and negatively when we stay away from the polls on election days and when we neglect to make public our views on the issues before us.

Whenever, therefore, officials are elected and laws are enacted as a result of this negative process, as a result of our failure to act, the kind of government we get we get by default. We are, however, still responsible. And we are, indeed, all the more at blame.

Of all the grave social, economic, and political problems with which we are confronted today, one exists which has been the subject of our consideration for almost a generation and which in recent years has become ever more formidable. It is a problem which we are still a long way from solving.

This problem arises from the conflict between the modern idea that government is substantially responsible for the welfare of its citizens and



the traditional American idea that government must insist on the preservation of the freedom of the individual.

How can we reconcile these two popular, praiseworthy, but apparently antithetical concepts? To what degree and by what methods can government proceed in ensuring for the governed the full and good life without jeopardizing the inviolability of the liberties of the governed?

Many of us sincerely fear that the state is already encroaching perilously on the freedom of the individual in its present procedures designed to create those conditions under which the individual can enjoy full employment at high income, security in his old age, adequate medical care, access to competent educational facilities, et cetera.

Others just as sincerely feel that the approaches government is adopting to achieve these obviously socially and economically desirable goals are safe and sound and carry with them no serious threat to individual liberty.

In any event, this situation poses for the American people an exceedingly acute dilemma. This dilemma, however, paradoxically is one for which all of us in this country should be profoundly grateful.

For ours is a problem which is peculiar only to a democracy. In an authoritarian state no such difficulty is encountered simply because of the fact that the freedom of the individual is not of political significance under a totalitarian government.

Here in this nation, however, such freedom is of immeasurable importance. And although it may render more onerous and more rigorous the burdens of citizenship, at the same time this freedom of the individual ensures for us the blessings and the privileges of decision and choice.

According to how wisely we decide and how well we choose in all the issues and problems that beset us depends the character, caliber, and competence of our government. This is our democratic heritage and our democratic future. Government in the United States is we ourselves organized.

THE CONFERENCE BEGINS

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath welcomes the opening session. On the platform: Dr. Harold Foote Gossell, NEA President Andrew D. Holt, Senator Irving M. Ives, the Attorney General, The Honorable Carl B. Hyatt, The Reverend Matthew M. Hanley, Citizenship Chairman Evan E. Evans.

Senator Hubert Humphrey and Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark, both sponsors of the conference, chat with Miss Emma Mae Brotze, member of NEA Citizenship Committee at one of the popular coffee hours of the Conference.

Mr. Evans chats with Senator Ives and Dr. Holt in front of the NEA Conference exhibit, one of approximately 50 booths of citizenship materials exhibited during the Conference.

INTELLIGENT VOTING, EVERY CITIZEN VOTING

HAROLD F. GOSNELL
Author and Educator

THE failure of the pre-election polls to pick a winner in 1948 led the survey organizations to make studies of nonvoting and how the voters make up their minds. The pollsters had miscalculated the turnout factor. They had failed to discover until after the election that most of the people who were not sure whether they would vote actually voted for Truman.

Fourteen years ago we all thought that the problem of nonvoting was gradually being met. In the 1936 Presidential election the poll was the highest that it had been since woman suffrage. If the trend had continued, nonvoting today would be no greater in this country than in the European democracies. But the increasing rate of participation has levelled off. On a percentage basis the poll in 1948 was considerably lower than that in 1936. In other words, nonvoting has been increasing.

Who are these nonvoters? What can we do about arousing their interest in politics?

The recent studies by the pollsters show that the lowest voting records were found among the poor, the young voters, those who had had the most limited educational opportunities, the women native whites of native parentage as compared with the foreign born naturalized, Protestants and those who did not go to church as compared with Catholics and Jews, those who lived on farms as compared to those who lived in cities, and those who were ignorant regarding politics.

We can get out the vote by reducing poverty; increasing educational opportunities; increasing the number of churchgoers; and by making concerted drives to quicken the civic interest of the young voters, women, those in isolated communities, and those who just do not care about politics.

The trend has been for women to take more interest in politics. In 1948 nonvoting was still common among housewives, but it was less than it used to be. In the twenties when I studied nonvoting in Chicago, one woman nonvoter told us that a woman was a flower. She should not spoil it by mingling in men's affairs. As the number of women gainfully employed has increased, so has the voting record of women. The splendid work of the League of Women Voters has been raising the ratio of women who come to the polls.

There is no question that among minority groups in the United States the participation of the Negroes in voting is low. The low vote in the

South is in part the result of nonvoting among Negroes. In the North, when allowance is made for mobility, I found the participation of the Negroes about as high as that of the whites, particularly the native whites of native parentage. This seems to indicate to me that the apparent indifference of the Negroes to voting in the South is the result of fear rather than neglect. They are afraid of humiliation at the polls, of discrimination, and, in some cases, of violence. The virtual disfranchisement of Negroes is a blot upon American democracy which our potential enemy in the cold war is not forgetting.

One hundred years from now the situation may be better. If the Negroes in America make as much progress in the next 100 years as they have made in the past 90 years, they will far surpass the native white of native parentage in civic participation.

Many Negroes in the South will not vote in 1950, but many more will vote there than ever voted before. The repeal of the poll tax in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and North Carolina; the Supreme Court decisions declaring the "white primary unconstitutional;" the rising level of education of the Negroes; the continued migration of Negroes from the South to the North during the war and afterward; and the increasing belief of the group that political methods may be used to improve the status of the Negro in American civilization—all should contribute to a larger turnout on the part of Negroes in the future.

The group which can produce a Ralph Bunche, a Joe Louis, and a Marian Anderson does not have to worry about its future in America.

The indifference of young people to politics is a matter that should concern us. In my book, *Democracy: The Threshold of Freedom*, I pointed out that suffrage is a right which confers certain opportunities. What use will be made of these opportunities is up to the groups enjoying the franchise. If a group wishes to get some of the benefits of the suffrage in a democratic country, it must produce leaders and organized followers who will obey those leaders. The most newly-franchised groups in the United States are the non-poll-tax payers and the youth from 18 to 21 in Georgia. What we need is a youth movement such as the League of Women Voters.

Views about the general importance of voting have varied. There is no consensus that a high vote is always good and a low vote is bad.

Especially in local elections a high vote may mean that the citizens are in general satisfied with the way in which their local affairs are being conducted.

In a national election, a high vote may be a fever chart. The polls in Germany were high prior to Hitler's coming to power in 1933.

In Australia, Belgium, and Switzerland, a high poll has not been an unhealthy sign.

Of the writers on the subject of voting, George H. Gallup of the American Institute of Public Opinion has shown the most concern with nonvoting. He ascribes the low poll in American elections as compared with European to two main causes:

The first is that our schools and colleges fail to give students even a rudimentary knowledge of the workings of their government, and fail to arouse interest in the affairs of national or local government. I have been a teacher of government for thirty years. I must confess that we have failed in our job. My wife told me that she thought political science was as broad as it was flat.

Gallup's interviewers discovered that in 1944, when the newspapers were devoting literally hundreds of columns of space to the selection of vice presidential candidates, less than two thirds of the voters could name the vice presidential candidates. Even in January, 1945, two months after the election, only 68 per cent of all voters could name the man who was elected vice president and who soon was to become President.

Gallup assigns a second important reason for the low interest in elections in this country to the incredibly low plane on which most of our campaigns are fought. He says candidates think that they must put on a kind of Indian snake dance, a devil's mask, run up and down the countryside beating tom-toms.

He points out the ritual. Call your opponents liars and thieves. If they happen to be in office, blame them for every ill. Smear Hoover. Smear Roosevelt. Smear Truman.

This reminds me of the Frenchman who was running for elective office and with Gallic humor stood on a platform that promised to allow hunting in the zoo every Friday, to eliminate poverty, to place moving sidewalks on the Boulevard St. Michel, to build a ship canal that would permit transatlantic liners to dock close to the Sorbonne, and to establish a meteorological institute for barbers who talk about the weather without knowing a darned thing about it.

Gallup concluded that practically every theory on how to get elected to public office is wrong. He contends that 9 times out of 10 election results would be no different if the candidates stayed at home, saved their time and money, their voices, and their self-respect.

Gallup made this statement before the 1948 election. He had never heard of the whistle stop speeches of President Truman.

Gallup has a point, but he has overplayed it. Senator Vandenberg was

able to win in 1948 without campaigning because he had built up his name in thirty years in politics, and in the particular campaign he had a lot of free publicity.

Another example which seems, at first, to prove Gallup's case fails to do so upon further examination. I refer to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's campaign for re-election to the New York State Senate in 1912. He was sick with typhoid fever during the campaign and did not make a speech, and yet won just the same. He had campaigned vigorously in 1910 and during his term as a freshman senator he had made a brilliant record as an insurgent Democrat. In addition, his campaign manager, Louis Howe, knew the arts of publicity.

Dr. Gallup has given an over-intellectualization of the democratic process which makes his polls look good.

His survey techniques do not go to the roots of nonvoting and of the way in which we may stimulate interest in elections. His sample cross section of opinion at a given time does not give us the dynamics of politics. He should have his interviewers talk with precinct captains, trade union leaders, political action committeemen, and ward bosses as well as voters. A sample of the voters whom he finds so ignorant cannot tell his interviewers what makes the party machine wheels go around.

On the other hand, there can be no disagreement with his thesis that there is a great reservoir of energy and brains which could be tapped for civic affairs.

There are millions of people ready and eager to go to work today on our most urgent problems. This conference represents an enormous potential source of energy for civic enlightenment and improvement.

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The National Conferences on Citizenship are noteworthy not only for the fine material concerning citizenship which they bring to the delegates but also (a) for their unusual breadth of representation from various groups in our country and (b) for their technique of making these conferences actual work sessions.

RICHARD B. KENNAN
Member, Conference Executive Committee

If we are true to our ideals, there can be no doubt as to what America should mean to all *Americans.*

America should mean democracy.

It should mean the protection of the inalienable rights of the individual, his privileges and his dignity.

It should mean freedom of worship, speech, press, and assembly.

It should mean a society in which all men and women are accepted and treated as equals, irrespective of race, color, creed, sex, or national origin.

It should mean equal opportunity for all men, whereby every man may find his level and station in the society on the sole basis of his individual merit, industry and initiative.

It should mean a society in which every industrious citizen can earn a living wage, be assured of a decent standard of living, obtain an education, and enjoy adequate housing facilities and health protection.

It should mean a society based on the principles of good sportsmanship and brotherhood—principles which are as American as baseball, pop-corn, hot-dogs, and Hopalong Cassidy.

In short it should mean a society in which human values have the highest priority, and in which free men can live and work in security and look to the future with reasonable confidence.

But obviously it should also mean a society in which the individual citizen exercises his rights and privileges with a deep sense of responsibility and recognizes fully his obligations to the nation and to his fellow citizens.

RALPH J. BUNCHE,
Trusteeship Division, United Nations
I Am an American Day, 1950

MONDAY'S LUNCHEON

O ETERNAL GOD, we stand here today, the children of Thy common family, drawn from many races and nations, yet Americans all. As we look back across the years, we are humbly grateful for Thy many blessings, for we know that it was through Thy great wisdom that this nation was founded upon the ideals of freedom and justice and the brotherhood of man; we know that it was through Thy mighty power that our fathers won their liberties of old.

Grant, we beseech Thee, through Thy divine guidance, that our leaders, that we, that those who now achieve the privilege and responsibilities of citizenship, and that all the people of this land may have grace to foster these sacred ideals always, and to maintain these treasured liberties in righteousness and peace, forever. Amen.

MRS. RUTH G. SAVOY,
Principal, Briggs-Montgomery School, Washington, D. C.

FOUR STORIES OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP IN ACTION

HAROLD BENJAMIN, *chairman, National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education,* presiding

WE HAVE this luncheon hour to consider some demonstrations of good citizenship in action in a democracy, and we have included in this program, as you can see, a town, a civic organization, a school, and a newspaper. Representatives of these organizations will discuss how their organizations operate in the matter of citizenship. In addition, the committee wants all of you to have a chance to talk over your own techniques.

Gladewater, Texas, Demonstrates Democracy

MARK DAY
Gladewater, Texas

WE CONSIDER it an honor to have the privilege of appearing on your program today. I would like to use the ten minutes allotted to me to tell you something of our "Democracy Beats Communism Week," which took place in Gladewater, Texas, from March 20 to March 26, 1949, and which is commonly known as the Gladewater Plan. This Gladewater Plan originated in the mind of Mr. John Ben Shepperd, who at that time was president of our Chamber of Commerce. He is now Secretary of State of the great state of Texas. Mr. Shepperd was formerly president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, had traveled over most of the world, had seen first hand, and had become alarmed over the spread of communism and the conception in many foreign countries that democracy was rapidly becoming decadent in the United States. Therefore, this week was set aside that the people of Gladewater, Texas, might study democracy and live democracy for one solid week, and thereby become more conscious of the blessings that we enjoy under our form of government. The citizens of Gladewater adopted the following creed:

The citizens of Gladewater, fully aware of the great battle of ideas between democratic and communistic ideologies in the world today, are undertaking to renew their faith in democracy and bring about a new birth of freedom.

Therefore, we are adopting a plan of militant citizenship, education, religion, and civic responsibility, inclined to reawaken the individual citizen's pride in his democratic heritage.

By our practical demonstration of democracy, we hope to set off a spark to be followed by the 10,000 other Gladewaters in these United States, thereby giving hope and inspiration to the whole world.

We believe that the best weapon against communism is an active and intelligent participation in public affairs on the part of our people. Unless Americans are capable of defending our economic and political system on an intelligent, logical basis, we will have lost our heritage. Democracy is not an accomplished fact. It is an unceasing crusade.

Local and state governments are still the foundations of democracy. When we inform ourselves about these agencies, and through these established institutions solve our own problems, we set an example and give hope and inspiration to America and the world.

This is our answer to communism!

Although religion can function without democracy, democracy cannot function without religion. With this in mind, major importance was placed on the churches' part in democracy. "Democracy Week" opened with a "Go to Church Campaign," which was endorsed and emphasized by the ministers and church people of Gladewater with the result that of the 8000 residents of Gladewater, 6000 of them attended church on that day.

The second project was "Brotherhood Night." This featured three prominent speakers, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant. All the churches called off their midweek meetings and attended the interfaith meeting.

The third project was to emphasize in our schools that in addition to the three R's—readin', ritin' and 'rithmetic—the Gladewater Plan dealt with another R—Responsibility—pointing out that it was just as important for young people to learn how to be responsible citizens as it was to learn how to make a living.

The fourth project stressed civic responsibility. Citizenship and civic responsibility are greatly interdependent, but workers on the Gladewater Plan felt there was a great need for placing more emphasis on each. They stressed the importance of taking a more active part in civic affairs, a greater pride in your home town and its educational and cultural facilities. A City Beautification Plan was launched and was a tremendous success. Two thousand new trees and 3000 new bedding plants were set out on public and private property in the city during this week.

Gladewater has a fine library, but many people were not familiar with its facilities. Open house was held at the library and people were urged to avail themselves of the opportunities offered.

The young people were encouraged to learn about the city and county government. An open meeting of the city commissioners and the county commissioners court was held, to which everyone was invited. For one day the city government was turned over to the senior students from the high school. A mayor, commissioner, chief of police, and other officers were

elected at an election held at the high school, and they learned by actual experience how city and county government is carried on.

The Plan was gigantic. It embraced more people working on committees than any program ever before attempted in Gladewater. The bugaboo of actually getting people to work on committees was downed. Everyone who was asked took an active part in the Plan. Everyone was enthusiastic and much was accomplished.

We believe that what was accomplished in Gladewater during "Democracy Beats Communism Week" can be accomplished in 20,000 other towns and cities in these United States.

Louisville, Kentucky, Gets Out the Vote

MRS. RUSSELL T. STUART
Past-President, Louisville League of Women Voters

YOU are your government. The delegates to this Citizenship Conference are not gathered together to face for the first time the theme of this conference, but rather, I am sure, to find through exchange of experience practical ways and means to sell the greatest commodity on the face of the earth—good citizenship. I have been invited to this meeting to tell you the Louisville Story or the story of an effort in practical Voter's Service.

The Need. The League of Women Voters of Louisville had long recognized the need for some compact form of voter information for the citizens of Louisville and Jefferson County. League members make a sincere effort to be informed on matters of government in order that they may be good citizens and promote the ideal of citizen participation throughout the community. But even the members of this organization dedicated to the cause of good government found it extremely difficult to obtain accurate information necessary to full participation in matters of politics and voting. The need for a book of rules and facts was discussed from time to time. To delay the actual undertaking was easy because, as any member will tell you, the regular League program of study and voters' service is heavy. An added job or big project means sacrifice on the part of members and their families. Then, too, there's always the matter of cost and budget. Human beings often need an extra shove.

The Challenge. All of a sudden something happened in Louisville! In the late fall of 1948, Mayor Farnsley made some very pointed observations on the lack of citizen interest in government at the precinct level. The mayor's concern is not important in this story except as it relates to the whole public. The newspapers and radio stations picked up the mayor's remarks, added some of their own, and, in a day, the people of Louisville were handed a major problem in American government. Statistics mean little when spoken

from a platform. It is enough to say that in Louisville as in your own home towns, counties, and states, too few people are registered, too few vote. And in Louisville as in your own communities far too many regular, even ardent, voters fail to realize that in skipping the precinct meeting and the party caucus they miss entirely the opportunity to have a voice in the formation of policy and in the selection of candidates for whom they wish to vote.

With public interest aroused by this glimpse into basic politics the big question was "What's to be done about it?" The League faced squarely the timely challenge to do a very real and very practical service for the citizens in the community. Objective: a Voter's Manual to be used as the basis for community-wide voter education.

The Result. I have here a Voter's Manual for Louisville and Jefferson County entitled *Your Vote Is Your Power.* It's a little book, only 24 pages, but the vital facts and rules are all here. I have touched briefly on background and result but the real story lies between the first newspaper story on precinct politics and, I almost said, this first edition but I must alter that, too, *now.*

At this point I am stuck. I am not satisfied that I have come upon the happy median between the brief generality and the time-consuming particular. Most of all I want you to catch the spirit of enthusiasm and cooperation that spread all over town as our work progressed. To relate the facts effectively, I should need to echo hundreds of voices of the hundreds of people responsible for the success of the project. But let me say at the outset there is no controversy, no argument to this kind of community service. It's a natural for all-out citizen effort.

Problems. First there was no money. The job had not been anticipated in our regular working budget. League members volunteered to raise the funds through a special campaign. Rarely do workers claim to get a thrill out of fund raising, but I can truthfully tell you that seeking cooperation for the down-to-earth business of Voter's Service not only produced the cash but made staunch friends for the workers and for the League, and laid the foundation for the biggest job of promotion ever attempted by the Louisville League.

All through the summer—and it can get mighty hot in the Ohio Valley—members and interested citizens spent endless hours at research, checking, outlining, writing, editing, drafting, conferring, interviewing, taking bids, sifting, weighing, accounting. These 24 short pages represent the time and effort of many League members and, in addition, lawyers, public officers, educators, experts in advertising and publishing.

Promotion. With funds in sight and the manual taking form, plans for the real work of promotion and distribution were developing rapidly. A general chairman served to coordinate the work of committees assigned to

schools (public and all others), churches, civic groups, men's organizations, women's organizations, labor organizations. In short every phase of our community life and every segment of our population.

The press and the radio gave generously of space and time, and League speakers were invited to present the manual at great and small gatherings. Billboards were offered; store windows and various other aids, all of which were used.

The Board of Education in a letter to principals and teachers urged that the manual be used in every government class from the Junior High School up. . . . The manual came off the press last October and by the second day one half or 30,000 of the printed copies had been requested.

Work on registration has begun. Even now the children in the first six grades in our public schools are being given slips of paper to carry to their parents. These slips of paper have on them a vital question—"Are you registered to vote?" And: "If not, will you register before the office closes June 6? You are not eligible to vote in the primary elections unless you are registered in a party. If you need transportation call the headquarters of the party of your choice. For complete information see the manual, *Your Vote Is Your Power* available at the Registration Office or the LWV office, 112 E. Gray St."

Through the children in the first six grades, we hope to reach a number of young parents who perhaps have been so busy with postwar adjustment that they may have overlooked this important business.

How will all of this figure in election returns? It's too early actually to know, but one thing we do know: the results won't show all at once. This is a long term proposition. As one speaker said in this conference last year, "Today's American citizen must live his citizenship every day of the year—year in and year out." We didn't set out to do a one-shot job, but to start the ball rolling for more and better day-in-day-out, year-in-year-out citizenship, so that perhaps tomorrow our school children of today will become voters who understand the truth and importance of the theme, "You are your government" and the title of this book *Your Vote Is Your Power.*

A School Promotes Community Citizenship

SYLVESTER SIUDZINSKI
Vice Principal, Eugene Field School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

THE schools in Milwaukee, as all schools, are very much interested in producing and developing good citizens. The teaching of basic facts about citizenship alone does not produce good citizens. Recently, a boy was suspended because he was not a good citizen in his school. An examination of his academic record revealed that he had a grade of 90 in citizenship.

Participants in Conference Program: Dr. Ruth Cunningham, Dr. Stanley Dimond, Dr. Harold Foote Gosnell

Factually, he was successful, but surely his training in citizenship did not prepare him for daily living in a democracy. The classroom should be a place where children, through experience, not only gain an understanding of the privileges that are theirs in a democracy, but also of their obligations as citizens.

This viewpoint regards the community in all its aspects as a rich educational resource and makes every effort to extend the classroom into the community and the community into the classroom.

About two years ago, we at the Eugene Field School began putting this conviction into action and gradually the walls of the classroom were pushed into the heart of the community. We undertook a study of the presidential election, the county parks, and the city government.

The election year presented a unique opportunity to learn about the federal government through the work of politicians and political parties and to show that in the United States of America the responsibility for government belongs to the people. Political science was learned by attending political rallies, including the one in Milwaukee for President Truman, listening to political broadcasts, using daily newspapers as standard texts, examining voting machines, distributing posters urging Milwaukeeans to vote, and organizing the class into an electorate. Throughout the class dis-

cussions, emphasis was placed on the fact that as voters, they were independent, and they would not make up their minds on any of the issues until all sides had been explored. When sufficient experience indicated that all sides of the issues had been explored, the students were allowed to take sides and form an electorate. National political party chairmen were selected and conventions were held to select candidates to represent the major political parties. Many techniques of political strategy were employed by these young campaign managers.

The whispering campaign was not an unknown tactic to the Democratic caucus. Word was getting around to worried Republicans about a treacherous Democratic plot. Finally, one anxious Republican brought the plot to the teacher. "Is it true," he asked, "that, if Dewey is elected President, we will have school on Saturdays?"

The Republicans wrote very clever lyrics to the popular song, "You Can't Be True, Dear," and entitled it, "It Can't Be True, Harry." The Wallace backers distributed free cookies and soda before election.

Utilizing sample ballots and polling booths, a school election was held. All the regulations of the Milwaukee Election Commission were observed. Intently serious in this, all the class took steps to spread the democratic lessons it was learning. Members made at least a hundred posters and distributed them over the business district to urge Milwaukeeans to vote. Children also got parents to sign up to vote.

Yes, these youngsters helped get out the vote, even though they could not legally vote themselves. It is also reasonable to assume that they have acquired a real understanding of democracy in action, which is the basic need of adult citizens today.

For the next project the eighth graders decided to explore the Milwaukee County Park System. Making use of democratic procedures, they set about the project. They went to the Milwaukee County Park officials and secured their cooperation in organizing a program. They learned about the history of their parks and how the parks were named. They took field trips to some of the parks, had movies shown of others, discussed park problems with officials, and made a comparative on-the-spot study of the Chicago and the Milwaukee park systems.

In spite of all their pleasant experiences, a disconcerting note crept in time and time again. Everywhere they went there were indications of vandalism. Some were of a minor nature; others, serious; but, nevertheless, there were many indications of malicious destruction. This disturbed the children no little and, after much class discussion, they decided to present their views to the Milwaukee Park Commission. They wrote a

letter to the secretary of the Park Board and arrangements were made for the entire class to appear before the board so they could express their views. The boys and girls told the commission that, if they would give children a greater role in developing parks, there would be less vandalism. They suggested a young people's control system to help police the parks and they urged commissioners to encourage schools to adopt neighboring parks.

The commission members heartily endorsed the youngsters' ideas about closer cooperation with the schools and their plans for curbing vandalism. The reflective thinking of the Eugene Field children served as an approach toward the solution of a community problem. Such thinking on a group basis is necessary to bring about an informed and enlightened public opinion.

In another project the eighth graders utilized the various city agencies to study the city government in Milwaukee. That project offered a firsthand study of community life and an adventure in practical education. A list of city services was compiled and each child selected a topic about a specific city department. After the youngsters had sufficient background, they wrote to the officials in charge of the city department they were investigating and asked if an interview could be arranged. In no instance was a child denied an interview.

The next step was to visit with the officials who would help them with their topic. They explained their study to them and asked for information booklets, pamphlets, and available films on the subject. Arrangements were made for an expert within the department to visit the classroom to discuss his specialized field and also for a tour of the department by the class.

Talking to the officials was a great social experience for the youngsters. It was a challenge to go out and see the authorities. The children were a little frightened at first, but they came back to the classroom and said the officials had been very gracious and treated them like grownups. One youngster commented that to the three R's had been added the three T's—talking, touring, and telephoning.

The children giving the topics and the adult experts had to encounter the competition of the entire class who had read up on the subject beforehand and tried to stump them with questions.

The result was that this practical course in citizenship had the youngsters reading, talking, and thinking about issues that they would have otherwise neglected. By December 1949, they were admitting that their idea of government as pretty dull had proved false. They had seen city departments and services and had met the officials who operated them.

The reaction of the officials showed that the study was also an enriching experience for them. Each expert was eager to know if the questions had been adequately answered and if the material had been clearly presented.

The students were so impressed with the cooperativeness of the officials that they wanted to find some way to show their appreciation. One youngster came up with the idea of having a civic banquet and soon everyone in class was talking about the possibility of a banquet at which the parents, the children, and the city officials could be together.

Financing the banquet, planning the meal, training waitresses, securing baby sitters, and all related matters became real class problems. The guest list read like the blue book of municipal administration, but the blue ribbons went to the fifty eighth-graders who, scrubbed and smiling, were ready to greet the officials at the door. Alert youngsters stretched out a welcome hand to guests, calling them by name. The officials could do the same. They remembered the youngsters from the field trips and from the quizzing they had weathered in the classroom.

The biggest thrill, however, came when they introduced Mom and Dad to the officials. Yes, everybody was just bursting with pride in the project, its success, and the banquet that was climaxing it.

We believe that children of the Eugene Field School, because of their realistic approach to the study of the federal government, the park system, and the city government, will become more intelligent in discharging the duties of adult citizenship. Perhaps our methods lend success to the projects; in our social studies, we do not use a standard textbook, but in the use of pamphlets, magazines and other current material, we actually have more text. Every available opportunity for worth-while field trips is encouraged. It is much easier to understand the operation of a department of government when you have some firsthand knowledge of it. We also believe in bringing experts into the classroom wherever possible and having the youngsters question the authorities after their talks. The children, in evaluating the statements of the experts, give evidence of discriminative thinking, of which we, as adults, would be proud. They have fewer inhibitions than we have and, consequently, come closer to the core of the problem than most people dare.

How a Newspaper Contributed to Accurate Information

JOHN P. LEWIS

Editor, Journal-Transcript, *Franklin, New Hampshire*

I TRUST that I have been asked to appear here because my little newspaper in a town of 7000 people is representative of a great many news-

papers over the country, and not because it is unique. In the past year or so we have devoted considerable time and effort to bringing local problems, local issues, to the attention of the people.

It would be nice if I could make this a cops-and-robbers story and say something about the obstacles I have had to overcome to bring people the facts, but, unfortunately, it isn't true. The problem of bringing information to people this day and age, with such a wide acceptance of the necessity of a free press, isn't very serious so far as external factors are concerned. When the press fails in its job, more often than not it is due to internal faults.

There was a time when small town editors like myself were considered to be, and probably were, among the best-informed people in their communities. They, alone of the people of their towns, had the opportunity, and the need, and the duty, to find out what was going on. Nowadays, with radio and newsmagazines and big metropolitan papers coming into every community in the country, the small town editor is very lucky if he is among those who are well informed, and he certainly cannot claim now, by virtue of his position, to be the best informed of the community.

The fact that editors used to be the best-informed people, however, has had an after effect, because we still act as though we were the best informed. As a result, all too often, we are inclined to give preference to opinions, information of one kind or another, that are in accordance with our own ideas and thoughts. That is what I mean when I say that, where the press is not doing a job, it is more apt to be a result of internal factors than of external ones.

The important thing in presenting news today is to give a sufficiently broad outline of facts and information, so that people can make up their own minds as to what is or is not the central kernel of truth that all of us are seeking. That is why it is important that papers and editors pay more than a little attention to getting other opinions than their own, other news than that which supports their ideas, into their newspapers.

When I found that I was going to be invited down here, I wrote an editorial for my paper this week. I am more sparing of words when I write editorials than when I talk, so, if I may, I would like to read from what I wrote.

What I wrote was this:

"The fact that the work of the *Journal-Transcript* has been selected for recognition by these educators is not particularly important to anyone except to those of us right here on the paper; we would be less than human if we did not swell up a bit about it. But the fact that American educators are concerned with the broad question of the need for accurate information as the core of good citizenship is very important. That is what Thomas Jefferson was getting at when he said that, if he had to choose between a government without newspapers and newspapers without government, he would take the latter.

"We think it is pretty important and pretty wise that the educators are approaching the problem of accurate information for the people at a local level. That is the level where good citizenship—and good citizenship necessarily involves active participation in government—has got to start. If you cannot get people to take part in local affairs, and get them thinking intelligently about the answers to local problems, you are not going to get very effective, or very wise, participation from them in state, national, and international affairs.

"Democracy and government in local communities are things you can get close to and feel and understand—they are not just abstractions as they are apt to be when you come up against them on a larger scale. It is a tradition in journalism that the best newspapermen come out of small towns, where they get a pretty broad experience on a small scale rather than from big city-papers where they get a pretty narrow experience on a big scale.

"It seems to us the same thing is true, by and large, in politics and government. If you can find out what makes the wheels go round in a city of 7000, you won't be baffled at what makes a city of 7,000,000 tick. If you can get people to take a hand in seeing that their own affairs in a small town are well run, you can lay to it they will do their part in seeing that the country is well run.

"Now, what part has a newspaper in all this? Every editor will have to come up with his own answers, shaped to his own capabilities, the mechanical facilities at his plant, and his concept of community needs.

"As for us, we think that these are the basic concepts to sound journalism in communities such as the one we serve:

"That freedom of the press was written into the First Amendment of the Constitution for the benefit of the people and not for the benefit of editors.

"That a newspaper has no right to exercise a monopoly in the dissemination of ideas through its own columns.

"That it isn't enough for a newspaper that is alone in a community passively to lay a few facts and a few ideas on the line and announce solemnly that those with other opinions will be heard if they desire. We hold it to be a newspaper's job aggressively to hunt out people with contrary ideas, people with facts bearing on all sides of questions at

issue and encourage them to present their material, to the end that all sides are represented fairly and adequately.

"That a newspaper, whether or not it is alone, has no right to impose narrow decisions as to what the people have a right to know.

"That a newspaper which is alone in a community must exercise extreme care against taking advantage of its situation to give its own ideas a better break than the ideas of other people. . . . On the Franklin *Journal-Transcript*, we have tried a technique that we have not seen used elsewhere, but which seems to meet the problem. When we have something to say on a major controversial issue in which time conceivably could be a factor, we send out advance proofs to give opposition leaders in the issue an opportunity to comment at the same time and on equal terms with our own editorial.

"That no newspaper should permit itself to be the town scold, but that it does have a positive duty to see that public affairs are kept out on top of the table where everyone can see.

"That a newspaper has an obligation not to be a bore and cannot discharge its obligation by filling its columns with dull, uninteresting, unreadable facts. Facts are interesting and understandable when presented against the human background from which they emerge, and it is a newspaper's job to see that they are so presented.

"And, finally, we hold that all newspapers, and particularly those that are alone in their communities, must remember that they are not omniscient, which means that they should be a bit on the humble side, but not too humble.

"On the latter score, we never offend."

* * * *

Indeed, it is of very great significance in this day and age that our democracy insures us that freedom of utterance which makes possible constructive self-criticism. Our frankness with ourselves, our willingness to face our shortcomings squarely and realistically, is an important phase of our national strength.

RALPH J. BUNCHE,
Trusteeship Division, United Nations
I Am an American Day, 1950

BUZZ SESSION

What Is the Single Most Important Suggestion You Have To Aid in Getting Every Citizen To Vote?

STANLEY E. DIMOND, *director, Detroit Citizenship Study*

The Planning Committee of this conference asked me to give each one of you an opportunity to participate in this program. That will take a bit of doing in ten minutes, but I think, with your cooperation, we can do it.

Organization. The committee said if I could assist you to organize a buzz session, we could begin to generate the power that is in this room, so that by tomorrow, when you get into discussion groups, you will be able really to get under way with your discussions. The plan is very simple. We will consider that each one of these tables is a room and that the people around that table represent a discussion group. In the first minute, when I give the signal, will you please designate some one person who is to be the chairman of your table. Whoever the chairman may be, he will find at his table a slip of paper about this size. I know you did not have time to doodle during these four thrilling speeches, so those slips of paper should still be clear.

I would like the chairman to do two things after you are selected. *First,* will you give to each person at the table an opportunity to give his or her answer to the question which I am going to ask. Then, *second,* after we have spent a few minutes going around the tables, I will give a signal and ask the chairman to see if you can get an agreement on which suggestion is best. Mr. Chairman or Madam Chairman, will you write that best suggestion on this slip of paper. Then we will have a few of those suggestions reported here. I would like to have the others turned over to me.

We are going to meet around the table, select a chairman, give each person a chance to answer this question: (Listen carefully.) *What is the single most important suggestion you have to aid in getting every citizen to vote?* Will you designate a chairman, will you each answer the question, will you pick out the best answer?

Reported Group Answers (after a ten minute intermission).

FROM THE FLOOR: We agreed that early information—not late information—and full information about the government would convince us that we are responsible for the government.

FROM THE FLOOR: Develop more civic spirit; emphasize precinct work.

FROM THE FLOOR: Correct the misinformation that we receive from the various agencies and work through our children in getting the correct information through the schools to parents.

FROM THE FLOOR: The dissemination of accurate information by the political action leaders of a community.

FROM THE FLOOR: To inform the public, through cooperatively planned meetings, of the issues at stake.

FROM THE FLOOR: We have agreed on greater emphasis on education, that is, in organizations such as the churches, the Grange, and others. Education, not propaganda. We especially agree upon emphasis in the schools.

Digest of Unreported Answers (from the editor's notes).

What is the single most important suggestion you have to aid in getting every citizen to vote?

Education, said six groups specifically, and 12 others mentioned in some way the part of the schools.

Accurate information, said 13 groups. Two groups specified this information should come early. Three groups mentioned the part of the mass media in dissemination of information.

Personal contact, said 12 groups. Two groups specified this contact should be by an "informed person."

Cooperation and use of existing organizations, suggested 9. Participation, said 2.

Underlying many was the suggestion that there must first be realization, an emotional conviction:

"Make the job of voting as immediate as the job of dodging the traffic at a busy intersection."

"That every citizen make an effort to help every other citizen consider that voting is his duty and that not to vote is to contribute to the decay of his country."

"People must be stirred to realize they will lose their very freedom if they continue to be complacent and do not use their right to vote."

* * * *

We have our internal differences, political, economic, and religious. We have our different national origins. But, these differences are superficial when compared to the fundamental and universal conception of our people that liberty, justice, and equality are the handmaids of democracy.

ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
Vice President of the United States
I Am an American Day, 1950

TUESDAY'S LUNCHEON

OUR FATHER, we thank Thee that we have a purpose in our life, and pray that this purpose will bring us as individuals and as a movement ever closer to Thee and nearer to the high standard of living set by Thy Son, our Savior, Jesus Christ in whose name we ask Thee to bless us and accept our thanks for this food which is an evidence of Thy love and care for us. Amen

WILLIAM L. BRADFORD
Boy Governor of New Jersey, YMCA Model Legislature

YOUTH PANEL

Improving Citizenship Through Our Organizations

LAURENTINE B. COLLINS, *director of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools*

There is a fantasy which is held by both the National Education Association and the Department of Justice: namely, that, through some strange fortune, I am competent to deal with American youth. I am indeed flattered, however inaccurate that may be. I don't quite know why, unless I am a case of arrested development, or have a child-mind, or some other thing. . . .

We are very happy to be a part of this program, and I think that the young people in this room, particularly, should be pleased that the Conference Planning Committee has had, all the way along, representation from youth. . . .

We are wired to the Voice of America, which pleases us very much, and I know that all the people who will hear it will get a very real sense of the place of American youth in our democratic society.

GLORIA CHOMIAK, *a 1949-50 National Winner, Voice of Democracy Contest, Delaware (junior, Wilmington High School)*

Man is a gregarious animal. He finds security with his fellows. Therefore, he has to band with others. That is one of the reasons for organizations. There are, of course, many others, which are even more obvious and some which are more subtle.

Like men, organizations vary in their quality, in their scope, in their ability to do things. Some of these organizations help to develop better citizenship. I think that is very plain, that youth organizations are very important because they develop citizenship in young people and young people grow into citizens who can do an awful lot and will have to do very much as they grow into maturity.

I think that it is also plain that college organizations do more work that is really constructive than high school organizations, yet I also believe that it is in high school organizations that the people learn how to work together. I believe that certain principles of cooperation are established, thus teaching us how to work together and, in a way, how to become better citizens.

So personalities in high school organizations can have a great deal of influence on the way that young people work in organizations, and the way they interpret group work, and the way they become interested or lose interest in working together. Sometimes I think that authoritativeness on the part of the sponsor intimidates the people in the group. It makes them lose their interest or makes them afraid to voice their opinions, and, therefore, hinders development.

RHONWYN LOWRY, *4-H Club Member, Georgia (junior, University of Georgia)*

Before we can build citizenship, we first have to build good citizens; and we young people were wondering how, through our youth organizations, we can build good individual citizens.

First, I think that in building any life or building any citizen, we must have a broad view. I think that fourfold living will fit very well into building good citizens—physical, mental, spiritual, and social. We should not put any more emphasis on one than on the other, but build a well-rounded life. In talking with young people and asking them how they thought we could do this, the answer that I always got seemed to be participation.

How can we get young people actually to participate in these organizations? I think individual participation will come from actively working—that is, giving each individual a responsibility.

How can we create an interest in these young people by giving them projects? We want to make these young people, we want to make ourselves, feel that we are just as important citizens as the persons sitting next to us.

I always like to think that I am just as much a citizen of the United States as the President, and I could perhaps mean as much to my country as he or as you or as anybody else. So what we want to do is to make each young person feel his responsibility as a citizen, and then we want to work not only individually but cooperatively, through our youth organizations, in building good citizenship. We want to sponsor things as an organization also. So it is going to take young people working together, working with adults, in building good citizenship.

IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN, *Member, Young Adult Council, National Social Welfare Assembly (Senior, Columbia University, New York)*

Every good coin has its bad side and in the few years that I have been at my present community which is the campus of Columbia University, I have found a growing apathy among students toward problems. When I came to Columbia a few years ago, organizations were large, active, had many members, all of whom were participating. The reverse is the situation today, and I do not think that is a healthy situation, and I would attribute it chiefly to two changes in the atmosphere on the campus.

Right after the war there was a hopeful optimism that pervaded American youth. This was the better world we were going to build. Today there is a great deal of pessimism about how good that better world is.

We represent a good many organizations in this room. Of necessity, all programs must differ from each other, but we have one function in common,

it seems to me, and that is to stress those attitudes which must be bred in order to create an atmosphere in which good citizenship is possible. I would say a good American citizen today is a free citizen and a world citizen. By a free citizen, I mean a citizen who has the courage to take the side of the minority, who has the courage to defend the right to express any idea, even a wrong idea. That isn't a cliché because those rights are under attack today from abroad, of course, but at home also, and we must be very careful about those rights.

To be a world citizen, we must breed those attitudes of intercultural tolerance, of the acceptance of the right to live and let live in this world of ours, and that, too, is under attack. There is no point in winning a battle for democracy abroad if in the process we tend to lose it at home, so I would say that the primary function of American organizations today (and that includes youth organizations), especially while pursuing their own particular aims and their own particular programs, is to speak out vigorously for those rights which make us American citizens—and I mean that.

That isn't just verbiage, because it isn't easy today to be a free citizen or to be a world citizen to improve democracy through our organizations. We must fight for those rights which we mouth so comfortably and so easily.

JAMES H. GRANT, *Boys Nation, American Legion, Florida (freshman, Emory University, Georgia)*

When I was going to the plane yesterday in Atlanta I saw, as I passed the Baptist Student Union Building, a huge sign put up there for a youth revival, which was held last week. The thing that struck my eye was this: "Youth Revival Meeting." If the Baptists think it works in religion, we could think it works in politics here in our nation as well as around the world.

One of the things that has been in my mind for a great many months now has been a federation of all youth activities in America toward presenting a concrete evidence to the world about what the youth in America are doing to further their own ideals and the principles for which our nation stands. The other day I picked up the paper—the *Atlanta Constitution*—and read there and saw there the pictures of German youth participating again, as they had done in 1938, as they had done in 1939 and during the years of Hitler's reign. It seemed like a flashback into history, and I thought how well these people are using the youth of their nations to present to the world what they believe in. I believe that democracy has missed the boat. Through our youth organizations, many, many thousands of them, through our religious organizations, through the American Legion programs, through the 4-H work, the Boy Scouts of America, and through all the varied different

and diversified programs that are operated for the youth of America today, I believe it is of an absolute necessity that we present to the people and to the youth of the world concrete evidence of what we are doing to promote democratic action here in America . . .

MISS COLLINS: You can see in an amazingly few minutes the four aspects of this program that we have gotten before you. First, what is the relationship of the sponsor, the adult, the adviser, the counsellor, to youth organizations? . . . The second is the importance of the youth member himself . . . Then we talked about the importance of facing reality in terms of a place of youth organizations with other organizations. Fourth, there were the concepts of Jim Grant about a confederation, a coordination, of youth activities and youth organizations, primarily to make a statement about American democracy.

Now we have a couple of minutes where someone can tee off on someone else. Let's do it.

MR. WALLERSTEIN: I would like to say this about a federation and about youth organizations getting together: It isn't, it seems to me, of so much importance what we say about democracy as what we do about democracy, and I do not know that a statement of our aims to the people of the world would have too much effect. Too many people today make statements. It seems to me that our idea would be invincible, if we only practiced it with all the faith and hope that we preach it. It seems to me we could do no better job of selling democracy anywhere in the world than selling it to ourselves really and sincerely, because every person who says he believes in democracy does not necessarily believe in it.

MISS LOWRY: I always believe in this idea of sweeping around our own door before you sweep around someone else's. That is what we need to do. We have to sell this idea of democracy to ourselves before we try to sell it to somebody else. In Georgia an 18-year-old can vote . . . But I wonder how many of those 18-year-olds in Georgia actually vote. We have to sell this point of democracy and taking an individual responsibility as a citizen before we can try to sell it to someone else.

I am no devotee of the cult of youth. I do not think that youth as youth can do any more than adults as adults. Youth as good citizens can do a great deal. I am afraid the tendency of Jim's statement was to fall into an old cliché: if only the youth of the country and the youth of the world got together, that would be utopia . . .

MR. GRANT: I agree that youth as youth is not as dynamic a force as some people would have you believe, but I cannot help believing that the youth of democracy can do a 100 percent better job toward bringing more clearly and outlining a little bit more specifically our democratic way of

life than they have been doing. I think, as Immanuel said, you cannot just depend on youth. That is not what I am saying . . .

You can define youth as you please. It doesn't make any difference to me how you define youth, but I would say this: that I believe that the youth organizations here in America are very diversified. We do not have any coordinating points. We are not going anywhere except to help the ones in our own particular groups. We have a wonderful thing here in America. But we do not realize it and we are not selling it. That is the whole purpose of what I am trying to say here. I think you must sell it to yourselves, but to sell it to yourselves you have to get together and think, as this conference is doing, about what citizenship is doing.

I would like to see a conference of youth. That seems to be such a terrible word to some people. I would like to see a conference of youth such as this, sponsored by the Justice Department and the National Education Association and some of the other organizations. I would like to see the people from all of our youth organizations come together and discuss these things—not just to discuss them, but to go back and take them to their organizations and say, "Here, now we have something we are going to do. We have a program and we are going out to put this program over, and, along with that, sell it to the people in America." We have a crying need today to sell democracy to the world, and I believe that that should be as much a part of the youth program as selling it to ourselves. Let's not be selfish with democracy. Let's let everybody enjoy it.

MISS COLLINS: We hope that this has given you a very concrete example of what young people—you can get people like this all over the country—can do on the spur of the moment . . .

I hope that you really got the core of some of these ideas and feel the fervor and strength of these young people. Those of us who are not young and who have been privileged to work with young people certainly must be reassured and know that youth of this caliber, twice as beautiful as we were and three times as smart, will go far.

I am convinced we can turn over the chores with which we have been occupied. I would like to say, for most of us: may the Lord bless you and keep you and may His light shine upon you.

A LITTLE GIRL, TWO DOLLS AND A NEW HOME

WATSON B. MILLER, *commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

At the "I Am an American" Day celebration on Capitol Hill yesterday many of you saw a 12-year-old girl who belongs to a group which has been characterized by some of our members of the national legislative body as "displaced persons." She is the 150,000th DP to arrive in this country . . .

The family has spent five of the twelve years of her life in refugee camps. Her father, captured by the Nazis during the World War, was forced to work at slave labor in Poland and Czechoslovakia, but they are now in America . . .

I wish that some of you farther away from the stage might be a little closer to this fine girl, as we are here. You would more clearly see her face, her golden hair and her blue eyes.

On behalf of the International Refugee Organization, I am asked today to present to her, and generally in the name of all of those who are called in the statute "displaced persons," who preceded her to the United States, these two magnificent figures.

Dace, this is the lovely miniature of the prophetic and significant lady who stands at the harbor of New York. I recall coming in on a ship in New York harbor at one time. There was a GI who came alongside and turned to me and said, "If this old lady wants to see me again, she is going to have to turn around."

This is the miniature of the figure of Crawford's Statue of Freedom on the dome of the Nation's Captitol. They are lovely in execution. Some imaginative person must have done them in such a magnificent and compelling manner.

I should like to ask Mr. Robert E. Fowler of the National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission, whose chorus we heard at the Capitol yesterday, to come to the microphone . . .

MR. FOWLER: Dace has been the guest of the Sesquicentennial since she arrived in this country a week ago Sunday, and in those brief nine days all of us who have been privileged to serve as her hosts have developed a deep love and affection for her. When she leaves tonight to take up her new home in Perry, New York, we are going to miss her very much. We are never going to forget her.

At this time, on behalf of the National Sesquicentennial Commission, I would like to present this scroll and I would like to read it:

> Upon the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the seat of the Federal Government in the City of Washington in the District of Columbia and recognizing in the person of Dace Epermanis the 150,000th displaced pilgrim who entered the United States of America, a true symbol of the courageous people of the world, whose never-ending fight for freedom is the hope of all mankind, the National Sesquicentennial Commission herewith presents to them, through her, the cordial hand of friendship and good will and a heartfelt wish for the early success of all who work for peace and liberty.

Dace, good luck and God bless you.

DACE EPERMANIS: Dear Friends: The ship which brought me to my fine, new country docked on last Sunday, had on it a displaced person who composed a poem. I would like to tell it to you. It describes the feelings of displaced persons when they are going to your land.

Where is my home?
Life in foreign lands
Has made me really weary.

Like all other people
Who have a home country
I so dearly love my home,
Its fields and meadows,
Its dark forests
Until they came and took away everything,
Leaving me alone to suffer and to weep.

My heart was crying, but I kept quiet.
I ate the bitter bread of a foreign soil.

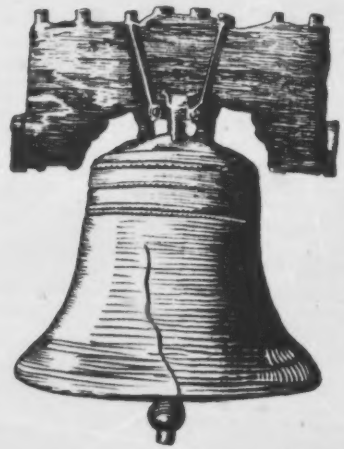
Then I learned and heard
Such names as displaced persons.

I have sailed through oceans
To find a new home, new forests.
And I do not know what fate will give me,
What home I shall find,
But I love freedom and I hate slavery.

I shall build my house in a free country.
I shall love people who love the truth,
Who hate bloodshed and force.

I do believe I shall love my new home country.
I may forget the long hopeless years.
I may learn again to love
Forests and meadows,
To live in freedom and in my new home.

Lent by the United States Savings Bonds Division of the Treasury Department, the impressive Liberty Bell (symbol of the 1950 Independent Savings Bonds Drive) welcomed delegates to conference exhibits and had a big place in the spirit of the conference. More than fifty national organizations and agencies displayed citizenship materials in the conference lounge.



THE BELL

The lover of liberty loves it for others;
By the peal of the bell are adherents obliged.
The ocean is pleasant and free to all travelers;
The lands rise around it, a curb to the tides.

The peals of the bell imbue men to devotion.
Adherents are bound, by the call to be free.
For, tuned to the bell is our duty to others—
Immutably fixed, as the beach to the sea.

TUESDAY'S DISCUSSION GROUPS

ALMIGHTY GOD, we give Thee thanks for many things. We thank Thee for the wisdom and vision that Thou hast given us to see in the sunset Thy beauty, and in the mountains Thy majesty and power. For the inspiration Thou hast given our early Founding Fathers that they might base this great, inspired work, the Constitution of the United States, upon Thy Commandments and the Beatitudes of Thy Divine Son, we thank Thee. In no nation of the world have they placed God above country, and the Divine Law in the position that we have had here in America from the very beginning.

We do not have strange gods of the State here before Thee, and whether you be a president or peasant, abhoring the divine rights of Kings or dictators, our Founding Fathers, again on the Commandments of God, insisted that it is wrong to steal, and it is wrong to kill. This nation must surely be many times blessed, for as our Divine Savior said: "Blessed are those who, when they see stangers they take them in, feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked." These are the doctrines we have followed from the beginning, and may God grant that we never or ever allow others to waver from these high purposes or ideals.

Now as we gather here as representatives of these various organizations intent on preserving our ideals and our American Institutions, God bless our every endeavor to keep America as wonderful as we know and thank God it is. Through Christ our Lord. Amen

EDWARD J. CARNEY, O.S.A.,

National Chaplain, The American Legion

THUMBNAIL REPORTS OF DISCUSSION

RUTH CUNNINGHAM

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Accurate Information, Life Blood of Citizenship

LADIES and Gentlemen of the Fifth National Conference on Citizenship: This is a report *from* you *to* you, reporting our thinking and discussion in our subgroup meetings, this morning.

Information may be the lifeblood of citizenship, but, unless that blood keeps *circulating*, we are going to have a dead citizen. The press, the radio, and television are powerful forces in keeping this blood circulating. One of our discussion groups says, "We reaffirm our belief in the freedom of the press, but we urge the press to discipline itself, individually, and through its own professional associations."

When the press does *not* discipline itself, maybe we, the citizens have a job to do. Some communities have effective machinery for action, for helping the press understand its responsibilities. Maybe more communities should have that type of machinery. But, on second thought, perhaps the whole problem is not as big as we think it is. So long as there are *many* voices speaking in our country, we can be sure that we will have freedom.

"To control or not to control" is a problem for all of us. Most of us like to see ourselves as Hamlet, striding across the stage, saying profoundly, "To be or not to be." Yet I notice that most of us keep right on *being*. That's the way it is with information, too. We like to discuss this old problem of control or not to control, but let's recognize that whether we like it or not, information is going to *keep right on BEING*. Our job is to help it *be* effectively, and not send it underground.

One group has said it this way: "It is the belief of this group that any hindrance to free inquiry, to freedom of teaching and freedom of learning constitutes a serious problem and any such undemocratic restrictions can and should be removed. We, therefore, recommend that this conference go on record for the reaffirmation of the fullest protection and support of *freedom of inquiry, freedom of teaching*, and *freedom of learning*, with the *free dissemination of the results*."

There are, moreover, those of us who recognize that restrictions and censorship are not necessarily matters of great formality and dignity. Sometimes *informal* censorship can do more harm than that which is imposed upon us by law. Whispering campaigns can be as strong as legislation. Those who whisper can kill something more important—our very freedom—than those who kill with guns and bombs.

We have a few words of advice to the press from some of us. Information may influence people, but it does not always make friends, particularly if it is cut on the bias. A newspaper may have its own editorial policy, of course. We're glad to know its point of view. Let's allow expression for varied views. But, above all, let's try to get the NEWS *straight*, not slanted.

Moreover, accurate information should be presented to the public *simply*. Surely, democracy is as round, as firm, as fully packed as any product; as effective against decay and B. O. in the social realm. *Why can't we learn to say so?* Can't we do as well as the people who talk about cigarettes and toothpaste and deodorants? *Of course, we can.* Let's do it simply, and see that people understand.

Getting this accurate information we are talking about is a *two-way street. We,* the citizens, have a job to do. The public should be heard—that means all of us, since all of us are the public—by the people who control the circulation of citizens' life blood. Seeing to it that information is correct is a job for all of us, and, if there is need for taking action, it's up to each of us by personal contact or, if necessary, by organized protest. It may be that we have a job to *assist* the press; maybe we can do something to help; but maybe before we throw the first stone, we need to have a look at ourselves. Let's be honest. If we and our fellow community members are the reason that we are fed fad rather than fact, let's get busy!

Is it possible that many of us are indifferent? Is it possible that we need to learn to *differentiate* between fact and opinion? Is it possible that one of our greatest difficulties is that we *lack the skills of precise thinking* and that we *don't know exactly what it is we are looking for?*

Perhaps the major problem is that some of us do not really *want* to get at the truth. Could it be? We may need to have a serious and critical look at ourselves before we condemn the press.

But press, radio, and television are only some among many forms of circulation of information. Education through our schools can be a powerful force, too. As one group says, "If the future is to be better than the present, we must involve children and youth." Schools can help improve newspaper-reading, radio-listening, movie-going, by helping students study and evaluate what they see and hear. One group suggests that: "In *every* school, *every* child, *every* day, should have an opportunity to discuss current issues."

But talking alone is not enough. We know that we learn through *experience*. Students in our schools should be given more opportunities to *participate* in school life.

And let's recognize that we have an opportunity to reach parents through children in our schools. (But, again, talking alone is not enough.)

There should be more parents, teachers, and students sitting down together in an effort to help solve the school and community problems—problems which they can see and feel and can do something about.

But education is not something that happens only in the schools. It happens regardless of situation or age. One group says, "Citizenship begins at the dawn of life and the basic unit in distributing accurate information is the *home.*" In fact *all of us* are educators as we influence children, youth, or aduits through homes, schools, or community organizations.

Sometimes, though, there is difficulty in bridging the gap between the *school* life of boys and girls and their *adult* life as citizens. One group suggests that the voting age should be lowered to 18 years to take care of this gap.

Regardless of age, participation seems to be the key. There seems to be some truth in the old song, "The More We Get Together . . ." And maybe the more we get together, the better informed we will be. Community forums help us to get together and see each other's points of view, help us to understand what is happening in the world around us. To quote one group: "We believe that out of exchange comes a better and more accurate point of view for all of us as citizens, but we need some techniques."

It isn't merely a matter of throwing information at people. That's not going to work. There are some techniques that *won't* work but maybe there is no *one* technique that *will*. Perhaps we need to use *all* the techniques that are available. For example, round-table discussions may be useful in getting a variety of viewpoints, and debate may be useful in clarifying different points of view.

Here are some clues to some basic principles of group action, as suggested by various groups.

> Let's discuss the common *problems of people.*
> Let's see to it that *every point of view* is heard.
> Let's find out *the things that bother people,* and start there.
> And, again, to quote a group: "We need to learn the art of taking individual responsibilities and translating them into group action."
> Above all, let's see that our talk results in *ACTION.*

A miscellaneous item: Things that are important aren't only of our community. They're bigger than us of one community. They're as big as all that goes on in our nation and in the world. Today, the *world* is our community.

Money may be the source of evil, but it can be of help too. I quote from a group report: "If billions can be spent to fight communism abroad, at least one billion should be used in a nationwide drive to stress democratic citizenship, on a nonpartisan basis."

I have a series of items which, for lack of a better title, I have labeled "We"—our jobs, the things we must realize and do.

We mean *each* of us. Each of us must learn to do his thinking for him elf and, perhaps even a harder job, learn to respect the thinking of the other fellow and learn to help the other fellow do *his* thinking for *himself*. We need to realize that seeing other points of view is vital in a democracy—seeing, understanding, and knowing what the other fellow thinks. And let's recognize that individual opinion *does* count. It does count and should *go on record*. And that means that it is important to recognize the importance of the other fellow's point of view *even if we do not agree with him*. That is sometimes a tough job for us to accept.

Let's recognize, too, that members of voluntary organizations have a tremendous potential influence on the mass media of communication. Maybe we are not exercising it now, but we ought to; we can learn to; *we must*.

Moreover, we need to pull *all* groups into community action. We need to have greater interflow of information among groups trying to give information on citizenship. And, by the way, it is likely that one of the best ways to develop democratic citizens is through organizations and institutions which *themselves function democratically*.

A specific recommendation from one group: "We recommend to the representatives of the organizations assembled here in conference that their organizations, working together on local and regional citizenship problems, use the national conference committee as a resource on *methods of securing information, and practical ways and means of meeting specific citizenship problems*."

We are not willing to settle for what happens today; we want to look to tomorrow. We are not only concerned with the current conference; we are interested in next year's conference.

One recommendation for next year is that we bring in a number of members of the press to discuss this problem of accurate dissemination of information.

A second recommendation starts with a statement: "Go forth. Practice what you preach. Collect specific information. Come back next year prepared to talk about what you have *actually done* about the things we have talked about this year."

Two groups have given us some very neat summary statements. One says: "People—that means all of us—must learn to get the facts; think critically in drawing conclusions; decide what is in the public interest and do something about it. Do something about it! Remember, *you ARE your government*."

The second group is a veterans group, and they make this statement: "As citizens who have served in the armed forces of our country, who have fought side by side with other citizens of different faiths, of different color, of different national origins, we understand our responsibilities as citizens. We recognize the need to promote, on a national level, an alert, active, sincere, and participating program of citizenship for the common good, for peaceful aims and for the removal of existing barriers of hate and prejudice."

We salute our veterans. They show us how we can be *loyal citizens in action*.

Improving Citizenship Through Our Organizations

LADIES and Gentlemen of the Fifth National Conference on Citizenship: This is the second report *from* you *to* you, telling of our group discussions yesterday afternoon.

No conference is quite complete, I suppose, without a few statements of "whereas" and "therefore", so here they are: One group recommends:

"WHEREAS, The Fifth National Conference on Citizenship has been meeting in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, on May 22-24, 1950; and

"WHEREAS, Our Government has joined in the sponsorship of this conference through the United States Department of Justice; and

"WHEREAS, The discussions in Group 11 of this conference indicate that an over-all citizenship program is vitally necessary in these United States; therefore be it

"*RESOLVED*, That a National Commission on Citizenship be created and established by the President of the United States and that this Commission devise a nationwide program designed to promote effective and responsible citizenship in our democracy and that such a commission report its findings and recommendations to the President of the United States of America."

Resolutions are important, of course, but we know that no number of statements of "whereas" and "therefore be it resolved" are of themselves going to achieve the ends that we feel to be important. It's going to take *all of us*, working together, working toward *action leading to results*, and it's going to have to involve a wider group than those of us who are represented here.

In fact, to achieve the type of citizenship we have been talking about, we are going to need to involve *everybody*. For democratic action we must have *wide participation*. As one group reminds us, "Jimmie Durante says, 'Everybody wants to get into the act.' OK, *let's see that everybody has a part*. The word 'participation' means *everybody* and everybody means EVERYBODY, regardless of race, creed, social or economic status."

When we get home, let's examine who *runs* things in our organizations. If it is a select few, maybe it is *our* job to change things.

Here are some quotes from groups, about participation:

"If we get participation, we will have alive, functioning membership. The backbone of successful organization is individual participation and responsibility. The common practice of allowing a small number of officers and workers to carry the load should be overcome by setting up new procedures for participation and group dynamics."

"Discussion is of value, even when conclusive answers are not found, for the discussion raises interest, stimulates thinking and brings new facts to light and results generally in a better informed membership."

"A democratically functioning organization does not do things *for* people. It opens avenues so that members can *help themselves achieve their common purpose.* Organizations can strengthen the sinews of good citizenship by encouraging full participation of the membership in policy-making functions."

"Participation and efficiency are not necessarily opposed. We do not have to choose between them. We can have both."

And to quote from a Michigan campaign slogan, "If you don't register, you cannot vote; if you don't vote, you don't count; and if you don't count, *it is time you should.*" Everybody should; for *everybody does count* and *participation means everybody.*

We want participation, but, if we are going to have effective action, we need some "know-how." Here are some "know-how" suggestions from our groups.

Let's realize that the grass-roots approach is not something that can be achieved by a national organization through *willing* it so. It doesn't happen that way. But "if we organize *locally* on a *democratic* basis, it will carry over into state and national organizations and thus will be achieving grass-roots action *from the ground up.*"

Most of us here are national leaders. We may not be as wise as we wish we were or even as wise as we think we are, but, always, *we could be wiser than we are.* And one way to be wiser is for national leaders to recognize the force of *local action,* and to find means to foster it. For example, the concept of the town meeting, thinking through things together, is useful in working on all kinds of problems. Let's organize activities in terms of the problems faced by citizens *in their own communities.* Let's recognize that we must learn to see how it looks from where the other fellow stands.

As one group put it: "Let's stab ourselves awake about the other fellow's viewpoint!"

Let's recognize that we need to become resource-minded about the people of our communities. People can be important resources to help groups achieve their aims.

Let's see the importance of leadership training particularly for those who are conference delegates.

Let's see that the community council is not only a study but an *action* group.

And let's capitalize on existing and valuable democratic organizations for citizenship we *now have* in our communities.

One aspect of "know-how" is that we learn to *practice what we preach.* Democratic practice can be developed *only* in an *atmosphere which is democratic.* Democracy and the concomitant responsibilities of citizenship cannot be authoritatively imposed. If our organizations are to be effective means of democracy, they themselves must operate democratically.

And here is the $64 question! *Can we as individuals find it in ourselves to belive in democracy to the extent of accepting decisions that are opposed to our views in order to make our organization effective?* If we can't answer "yes", we are giving a "no" to democracy.

If we are to have "know-how," we must *know how* democracy works. Here are some things to keep in mind:

Organizations should consider not only *two* sides of many-sided questions. Let's recognize that there are *many sides* and look at *all* of them.

We need to recognize that voluntary groups frequently have objectives which do not coincide with those of other groups; therefore, means need to be discovered which will enable all groups to reconcile their views through joint exploration of facts, through compromise sometimes, and through agreement upon a common program for the general public welfare.

Does that sound starry-eyed? Maybe. But it *has been done.* It CAN BE DONE. Let's DO it.

But a machinery alone is not enough to insure democracy. For example, in our organizations, the nominating committee may be as autocratic as a dictatorship. We must find means for the *thinking of all to be effective.* Moreover, any one individual in the group has a responsibility not to accept as final the moves of the community, but to study the situation at hand, and, if necessary, to take action to correct undemocratic practices.

One of the characteristics about our democracy, about any democratic society, is that it has room for many groups. If you find yourself at odds with one group, why don't you decide whether it is better to fight in that group, or to find another that is closer to your interests.

A law is a law, but laws can be changed, and, if we don't like existing laws, it is our privilege and duty to try to change them. But "know-how" is not merely techniques and devices and tricks. It implies knowing how

to *appreciate people*, for PEOPLE ARE IMPORTANT. And knowing that people are important means we know that people can be *trusted*—trusted to elect a school board, for example. Unless we can learn that people are important and can be trusted, we had better start over and re-view the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

As we discuss citizenship, we must recognize that all of us in the United States of America are citizens. That is in the Bill of Rights, too. We can't be democratic citizens and allow societies, colleges, and local organizations to ask questions dealing with race or religion.

One way to help solve problems is to get together in trying to solve them *as a group*. We must present a united front through a federation of our organizations.

Again, to paraphrase the old song: The more we get together the better informed we'll be, and the better citizens. We *must* get together.

We started with a "whereas" and a "therefore be it resolved"; maybe we should end with one. One group says:

"Be it *RESOLVED, That we have faith in the process of democratic action.*"

I know of no more forceful way to underline the theme of this conference on democracy and loyal citizens in action. YOU ARE YOUR GOVERNMENT.

* * * *

We have not yet attained the goal to which our forefathers aspired, and for which we are striving ourselves. We must hand this nation down to those who are to come after us strong in its intellectual grasp of the complex problems upon which the people must pass; strong in its moral determination to keep always before us the righteousness of our cause; strong in our spiritual concept which emphasizes that, while we enjoy separation of church and state, the state must make it easy for religious groups to practice their devotions, by protecting the laws for the freedom of worship, and the religious groups must make it easier for the state and the nation to enforce its laws by the creation of that moral foundation, and that moral obligation, that goes with good citizenship everywhere.

ALBEN W. BARKLEY,
Vice President of the United States
I Am an American Day, 1950

THE CONFERENCE BANQUET

OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN, we thank Thee for the privilege of this assembly and for the chance, through our deliberations, to rededicate ourselves to the ideals for which this nation stands indivisible. Whatever our race, our creed, our origins the precious bond of citizenship unites us all.

Let us then be ever mindful of the need to preserve our freedom and the duty to enhance our faith not alone in Thee but in humanity. Now that circumstances have made us a people of destiny let us not eschew the burden but meet the challenge with courage and consecration.

O our God, inspire us as citizens of this great Democracy so to live and so to work hand in hand for justice, truth, love, and peace in this our country that, prompted by our example, people everywhere will achieve every blessing and every good and thus help to make of all the world, as we in this "America the beautiful", a Brotherhood. Amen

WILLIAM F. ROSENBLUM
Rabbi of Temple Israel,
New York City

"THAT WAS A GREAT MOMENT . . ."

A. C. FLORA, *chairman, National Education Association Board of Trustees,* presiding

As the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Education Association I am very happy to be associated with the Department of Justice in this conference. From what I have been able to glean, it has been exceedingly profitable and well-attended. Prior to the introduction of our first speaker, I shall quote three paragraphs which I believe to be exceptionally appropriate on this occasion. The first two paragraphs are from Josiah Royce:

> You, at this moment, have the honor to belong to a generation whose lips are touched by fire. . . . The human race now passes thru one of its great crises. New ideas, new issues—a new call for men to carry on the work of righteousness, of charity, of courage, of patience, and of loyalty—all these things have come and are daily coming to you.
>
> When you are old . . . however memory brings back this moment to your minds, let it be able to say to you: That was a great moment. It was the beginning of a new era. . . . This world in its crisis called for volunteers, for men of faith in life, of patience in service, of charity, and of insight. I responded to the call however I could. I volunteered to give myself to my master—the cause of humane and brave living. I studied, I loved, I labored, unsparingly and hopefully, to be worthy of my generation.

The next quotation I have is from Omar N. Bradley:

> After having created this atomic age, education cannot escape the responsibility for teaching men to live in it without destroying themselves.

More than ships, planes, tanks, and guns, we need an intelligent and well-informed public opinion. The power of democracy is the power of one's sense of knowledge, of unregimented minds, of resolute action based on understanding of a realistic world.

WE THE GOVERNMENT—THE FOUR OBLIGATIONS

ANDREW D. HOLT

President, National Education Association

FOR nearly two hundred years we Americans have been obsessed with the idea of freedom. We conceived the idea long before we spilled some British tea in Boston Harbor. We clinched it in the Revolution. We put it into writing in our Bill of Rights. Our patriots fought for it at Chickamauga, Manila, Belleau Wood and on Anzio Beach. A great president and his colleagues immortalized it in their statement of the Four Freedoms. A great painter popularized it in four pictures so natural that their characters seem to talk.

I love those freedoms. I don't want to live anywhere that those freedoms do not prevail. I want to be able to criticize my government without fear of reprisal. I want to go to the church of my choice. . . . I like to know that I will be able to eat tomorrow and that my children will have coats and shoes. And I like to know that as near as my telephone is a policeman whose duty is to protect me, not to persecute me.

I especially prize my heritage of rights and privileges, of freedom and justice at the present moment when totalitarianism tramples this heritage in the dust in one nation after another, threatening our own democratic ideals. . . .

We stand to lose our *rights* and *privileges*, however, when we fail to realize that they are inevitably accompanied by certain *duties* and *obligations*. It is high time in America that we start emphasizing the latter as vigorously as we have been harping upon the former.

This evening I would like to propose four duties and obligations which should be assumed by all of us who accept the rights, privileges and freedoms of our great land.

Obligation to Think

The first obligation of every citizen is to *think*. In a democracy, the intelligence of the government is the sum total of the intelligence of all its people. If only a few of the leaders do the thinking, we have no democracy.

So, it is the duty of every citizen to keep himself informed concerning the issues of the day, whether they relate to the Marshall Plan, the election of a governor, or the building of a sidewalk in front of the village post office. He should withhold his decision on any issue until he has drawn freely on all available sources of information—newspapers, radio, the opinion of experts, or drugstore gossip.

After sufficient information *on all sides of the question* is at hand, he should use his best judgment in arriving at a conclusion. His conclusion should be one which he can justify to both his fellow man and to his own conscience. He should courageously defend his convictions, but always with the willingness to revise his opinion when additional information and further thought warrant it.

Such a thought process is the best defense we have against communism, fascism and all other undesirable "isms." These thrive only where ignorance abounds. They cannot stand the withering scrutiny of thinking people.

He errs in his obligation to think, who blindly accepts as infallible the ultimatums of a communist dictator, the platform of his own political party, the opinions of newspaper columnists and radio commentators, the policies of well-oiled organizations, the pronouncements of barber shop philosophers, or even the traditions of his forefathers. It is the first obligation of every citizen to think for himself and to apply his best thinking toward the discharge of his duties as a citizen.

Obligation to Work

The second obligation of every citizen is to *work*. Any able-bodied citizen who fails to work, to produce, to carry his load, is obviously a dead weight on his commonwealth. Ignoring citizenship, the law of self preservation dictates that every man shall work for his own support, the support of his family and for security in old age. Through the years, the inevitable penalty for violation of that law has been personal poverty and discomfort. We defy that fundamental law when we assume that our government, our community, or our family owes us a living. It is fundamental to the success of our democracy that every person find for himself the occupation for which he is best suited and that he work in it at full capacity.

The good citizen must work not only for his own support, but he must also contribute to the financial support of his government. Good government, like good clothes, good food, or good cigars, costs money, and good citizens are willing to pay the cost of it. We have the right and the responsibility to examine critically and constantly the expenditures of our government to make certain that we are getting a dollar's worth of service for every dollar we spend on taxes, and to protest vigorously when governmental expenditures are unduly extravagant. But there are a dozen "watch dogs of the Treasury" who will yell to the high heavens about taxes, to every citizen who is willing to weigh fairly the services his taxes are buying and to recommend such changes in public finance as will bring greatest good not only to himself but to the greatest number. Many of us who complain loudly about our taxes are hard put when we are called upon to recommend the specific governmental service we would have discontinued or curtailed.

The Honorable Justin Miller, chairman of the Attorney General's Advisory Committee on Citizenship; The Honorable Watson B. Miller, commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice; and Dr. Harold Benjamin, chairman of the NEA's National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education—all sponsoring and actively participating in the conference.

But a good government cannot be bought with taxes alone. It is the obligation of every citizen in a democracy to work as diligently at his job of citizenship as he does at his job of making a living. We are not good citizens when we merely pay taxes and refrain from violating laws. We deserve no particular credit for choosing to abide by our laws rather than to pine away in the "hoosegow." But we do deserve credit when we work to secure the kind of laws we should have; when we work to secure their observance by ourselves and by others; when we accept our turn at jury service; when we offer ourselves for such public offices as we are particularly qualified to hold; when we volunteer for military service in time of crisis; when we participate in the local Red Cross drive, Community Chest campaign, or clean-up-paint-up week; when we join the chamber of commerce, civic clubs, or other organizations which exist for public betterment; when we boost our community, state, or nation at every opportunity.

Good citizenship is not negative. Nor is it passive. It is active, aggressive, constructive—a full-time job for all of us.

Obligation to Respect

The third obligation of every citizen is to *respect*. You will notice that I have not used the badly overworked term *tolerance*. None of us are satisfied to be tolerated. All of us want to be respected.

This obligation provides the acid test not only of our belief in democracy, but also of our belief in religious brotherhood.

It is easy for me to tolerate people of other races and to allow them to live in *my* country; but it is difficult for me really to respect them to the extent that I am willing to allow them all of the privileges I enjoy.

It is easy for me to grant people of other religious faiths the right to attend the church of their choice, but it is difficult for me really to understand how they can accept religious beliefs which vary from the doctrine of the church of which I am a member. . . .

It is easy for me to tolerate those in economic and social strata lower than mine, but it difficult to grant them the same measure of respect I accord to those in the strata higher than mine.

Genuine respect for the opinions, rights, and actions of others is indeed difficult, but it is inescapably necessary in a democracy which embraces peoples of all races, colors, creeds, and backgrounds.

Obligation to Vote

The final obligation of every citizen is to *vote*. This obligation is the culmination of the other three. By our vote we express our opinions; we work to make our democracy effective; and we show that we respect the right of others to opinions contrary to ours. The right to vote our convictions is essentially the only difference in our form of government and a dictatorship. If we fail to vote we have no more democracy than the Germans had under Hitler.

How lightly some of us take our responsibility to vote was eloquently demonstrated by the fact that in the last national election 48 million American citizens were AWOL. And yet many of those 48 million nonvoters are among the most rabid critics of governmental policies and practices. I would not deny any citizen the right to criticize his government, but I maintain that his criticism would bear more weight if he had voted either for the incumbents in office or for their opponents.

The obligation to vote also implies the obligation to accept the outcome of an election and to cooperate with those elected, whether we voted for them or not. When our candidate is defeated, many of us cross our fingers and secretly hope that calamity will hound the footsteps of the one elected. We even plot deliberately to bring failure to his administration. When we do so we not only "cut off our nose to spite our face," but we violate the

very spirit of our democracy. Ours is the responsibility to make every administration succeed.

How can all citizens of our nation be made to feel keenly their obligation to think, to work, to respect, and to vote? How can they be taught ways in which to discharge these obligations effectively?

Since I am an educator you have already anticipated my answer: *Education!*

Certainly no other institution is in better position to train the youth of our land in the art of orderly thinking—to give them the breadth of information and understanding necessary for sound conclusions, to teach them to distinguish between the important and the trivial.

Certainly no other institution is in better position to give them a genuine belief in the dignity of labor . . . and to train for the occupation of their choice.

Certainly no other institution is in better position to inspire them to respect others, to understand their backgrounds and traditions, to recognize their abilities, to be able and willing to sit around the table and arrive at agreements with them.

Certainly no other institution is in better position to impress upon them the seriousness of their responsibility to vote in every election, and to teach them what is involved in the voting process.

This is no small job I have outlined for our schools. It cannot be done with poorly qualified teachers. Yet, almost 100,000 of our teachers possess substandard training.

It cannot be done in over-crowded classes. Yet thousands of our classrooms are crowded to overflowing.

It cannot be done in antiquated, inadequate school buildings. Yet the Research Division of the National Education Association tells us that ten billion dollars is needed during the next decade to bring our school building program in line with our needs.

Good citizens will make certain that their schools have what it takes for the stupendous job ahead of them. They can do so with the assurance that no investment of their local, state, or national governments will bring richer returns than funds appropriated for the support of their schools.

LOYAL CITIZENS IN ACTION

J. HOWARD McGRATH

Attorney General of the United States

I AM most pleased with the privilege of participating in this historic conference, and most grateful for the opportunity to speak on the subject of "Loyal Citizens in Action." Such a conference as this gives inspiration, radiates confidence, and reaffirms the faith of all Americans in the efficacy of our democratic system.

Growing out of the efforts of the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association to discover what was being done in the field of citizenship and to coordinate the efforts of all organizations in the interest of effective American citizenship, these conferences have been held annually since May 17, 1946. They have proved their worth on the basis of the objectives already achieved.

In this connection I should like to pay a tribute to my predecessor in the office of Attorney General—you, Mr. Justice Tom C. Clark, for your invaluable contributions to the success of these conferences from the very beginning. You have helped greatly, as you yourself have so aptly expressed it, to translate the American heritage into a dynamic reality for the common good. We are all deeply indebted to you.

Those in charge of these conferences have had the genius to label each with a significant motto. Your first conference, in Philadelphia in 1946, set the pattern; your second conference sounded the alarm; your third conference outlined the job for all interested in the maintenance of our democratic form of government; and last year you stressed the importance of awareness of our responsibilities as citizens of this great republic. This year your theme is "Loyal Citizens in Action."

This year's theme is indeed in its proper logical sequence, because the goal you have set can be achieved only through action on the part of our citizens who are truly and sincerely loyal.

A conference such as this is a crystal clear manifestation of loyal citizenship in action. Constituted as it is, and representing the numerous and various outstanding civic, religious, educational, professional, industrial, labor, and communications groups of the country, it is the voice of all our people and therefore can truly be called the workshop or laboratory of democracy.

During the last war, our role in the world was emphasized as the arsenal of weapons to defend freedom in this world. Today we are not only the arsenal of such weapons, but we are also the arsenal of those moral and

spiritual values which are the basic elements of a true democratic system of government.

The individual citizen, who is admittedly the strongest bulwark of our country's welfare, needs active strengthening from time to time; and this is accomplished by such conferences as these.

All of you have come here to achieve, in the words of President Truman:

> ". . . a noble objective—to seek the betterment of our country, to implement your Government's efforts for peace, to bring about freedom, justice, and opportunity for our own people and for all mankind."

It is fitting that the conference be conducted in connection with "I Am an American Day."

There is no more precious possession today that can accrue to any individual than that of United States citizenship. The enslaved people of the world look upon our citizens as the guardians and the possessors of those moral, spiritual, political, economic, and social values which alone can bring to them the peace and freedom they so sorely need and pray for.

Accordingly, loyal citizens in action necessarily implies an effective participation in all activities required for the preservation of the precious asset of citizenship, not only for our own good, but for the good of the world at large.

We in this country have demonstrated to the world that rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens can be respected and protected regardless of nationality, racial, or religious affiliations.

Yet, in the world today there is much chaos and confusion. Yes, too much. More than half the people are enslaved. Technological progress has narrowed the areas of the globe.

Today the forces of good and evil are waging a mortal struggle between freedom and slavery, between the concept of man as an inert thing and the certainty of man as an inviolate creature of God. We are living in a new era—the Atomic Era. It is the function of loyal citizens in action to recognize and meet the challenge that the free world is faced with today, for it is a real challenge.

Never before has our democratic system been as sorely tried as it is today by the false ideologies of totalitarian countries. These false doctrines find fertile field in the many spots on this earth where hunger exists and where disease is rampant. Tyranny is imposed on many in the name of democracy.

This threat to our system of government is not only directed at us from abroad, but also from within. There are those who, though cloaked in the guise of respectability and patriotism, have through inflammatory speech and malicious publications created disunity even amongst our own people. Paid

"patriots" are flourishing as purveyors of hate. Consequently, it is incumbent upon every loyal citizen to become well informed as to all world events, all world threats to freedom, and all world efforts to eliminate such threats.

You probably have seen, or heard of some fantastic stories about the alleged infiltration into, or the "capture" of our government and our country by communists. If we weren't living in such an anxious period of the world's history, I would not even take time to mention it.

You may rest assured that the federal law enforcement officers of your government—the FBI and other official agencies charged with the responsibility for our internal security—are alert and active day and night. We know the communists of the country, and we know of no communists in the federal government today. And, if and when one is found, you may be sure that he will be swiftly dealt with.

However, I want to emphasize that while we are fully determined that there will be no communists or other subversives in our government, we are equally as determined that there will be no gestapo witch hunts—that the basic civil rights of the individual will be securely protected and defended as guaranteed by the fundamental law of the land.

Our free America that we inherited must be handed down in like manner to the future generations.

A loyal citizen in action must also recognize that we have not yet achieved perfection in our own democratic process and that there is much yet to be done if we are to approach the ideal goal.

There is still in many parts of our country a wide gap between democracy in theory and democracy in action. Civil rights, precious as they are, are not yet fully enjoyed by all of our people. Our Bill of Rights has not as yet found full effectiveness in our daily lives and practices. "Citizen apathy," a grave citizenship problem, is not confined entirely to the voting booth.

Also, it is the duty of a loyal citizen in action to help "translate our Bill of Rights into a Bill of responsibilities," for there is a vast difference between being just an American citizen and a responsible American citizen.

I should like to comment on some of those responsibilities, on those which to me seem of most importance.

Foremost, the loyal citizen in action must endeavor not only to accept citizenship responsibility, but must also make every possible effort to exercise that responsibility. It should always be remembered that freedom and democracy are never permanently secure; that eternal vigilance is still the only price of liberty, and that each generation must assume its burden of guarding that freedom.

It is incumbent upon all loyal citizens to see to it that our democratic forces always remain vigorous and meaningful and that our democratic system harbors no vulnerable spots.

To gain that, there are certain basic fundamentals which the loyal citizen in action must not only conform to, but actually practice.

It should be recognized that the present American way of life is the result of the interplay of the differences and characteristics of the various people who have come to our shores and effected a cross-fertilization of the social, economic, and political beliefs which they possessed with the new environment in this Western world.

All should ever remember that from its very beginning American history is the continuous story of immigrants coming from older lands, arriving here with their inherited ideologies which they later modified, in the process adapting themselves to new conditions and new experiences.

The colonial settlers were immigrants who came to this hemisphere to live with others who were not of their own kin. Poeple of diverse stock and of different viewpoints and experiences found the space for and the means of living together competitively, but in self-interest, as a united nation.

In this country there is no aristocracy of race, of color, or of creed. The true American is the one who understands that the America of today is the result of the contribution of each and every constituent group, element, integrated in the make-up of our population and civilization.

We have blended into one great nation without sacrificing the individual differences which made for what I like to call the "symphony of democracy." Like the soothing music of a symphony orchestra, produced by the harmonious tones of the various instruments playing in unison and under the leadership of one conductor, our democracy serves us best when it is a reflection of the harmonious activities of our many varied component groups acting pursuant to universally accepted basic democratic principles.

Over 120 different nationalities constitute our national populace. Each has much to contribute to the common cause, and each is respected because of such contribution.

An important function, then, of the loyal citizen in action is the recognition of the inalienable rights of every individual. The rights of every group must be respected, for any attack on the rights of any one group will eventually result in attacks upon others.

We often bespeak "tolerance" of such groups. I, for one, prefer the word "respect," for the word "tolerance" somehow implies condescension. We should respect each other's views, each other's faiths, each other's creeds, regardless of color of skin or religious or racial background. There may be disagreement; but "honest disagreement," in the apt words of my predecessor in office, "is one of democracy's strong cornerstones." There can be no disagreement in a totalitarian state. There is a close connection between democracy and truth; and there can be no truth if there is no freedom of

expression. That is why we were able last week to celebrate the publication of the first volume of a projected 52-volume edition of the writings of Thomas Jefferson, who so classically expressed the fundamentals of a true democracy. Nowhere behind the Iron Curtain could such an event be possible.

It has been fittingly said that the freedom which we enjoy impels moral decency. It requires obedience and respect for our laws. Such obedience and respect in practice is an absolute essential of a loyal citizen in action. As chief law enforcement officer of the United States, I am disturbed by the prevalence and increase of crime within our own borders. The latest crime report compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation indicates that a serious crime is committed every eighteen seconds; that by the end of 1949, there were over 1,763,290 serious criminal offenses committed.

Indeed, crime was up 4½ percent across the nation during 1949, as compared with the previous year. This is an unhealthy trend, and not only must be halted, but must be substantially reversed.

A loyal citizen in action deems it his primary duty to observe all laws. Disrespect for the law is a devastating influence on the youth of our country.

It is shocking to learn that 31 percent of all persons committed to federal prisons last year were in the age group between 18 and 24 years; and what is even more disturbing is the fact that 70 percent of all first offenders brought to trial in the federal courts for criminal offenses were from this age group. The crime problem of our country is essentially a youth problem. It may continue so until every adult in America—and particularly every loyal citizen—awakens to his responsibility and acts accordingly.

That is why I am delighted to note that this year for the first time youth has an expanded program at this conference; for as youth goes so will our country go. I have wrestled with the problem of juvenile delinquency, as has my predecessor. I do not know of any new law which Congress can enact which will diminish it to an appreciable degree. Basically the difficulty can be solved only through a process of moral training in the home, the church, the school, and related activities. Organizations such as yours can help make such training possible.

Finally, loyal citizenship in action means strict adherence to the moral and spiritual principles which can be achieved only through love of God and through the teachings of our various religious faiths.

What the world needs today more than ever is an abundance of faith, hope, and understanding. The loyal citizen in action must have an abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of the true democratic system; and he must have undying hope in a better future.

We must pray for the wisdom and vision to comprehend this complex world, and for the sagacity to discover the means of attaining brotherhood.

not only for us of the present generation, but for our descendants in the future.

Only as loyal citizens in action can we reach the coveted goal; and—with the aid of Divine Providence—a greater, brighter, and better America, and a world of peace and abundance will be achieved.

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Two Disappointments

Two disappointments were a part of the dinner session of the conference. CLAUDIA PINZA, *Metropolitan opera star*, wrote:

> The doctor this morning told me I should not take the trip and should not sing. Please forgive me, for there is nothing much I can do. I hope you will ask me again.

HOMER CUMMINGS, *former attorney general, United States Department of Justice*, wired:

> FOR IMPERATIVE REASONS IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO ATTEND THE DINNER TOMORROW NIGHT. I REGRET THIS MORE THAN I CAN POSSIBLY SAY. AS YOU KNOW I AM FULLY IN ACCORD WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE MEETING AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A DISTINCT PRIVILEGE AS WELL AS A GREAT HONOR TO BE WITH YOU. I TRUST THAT THE OCCASION WILL IN EVERY WAY BE SUCCESSFUL AND STIMULATING. PLEASE REMEMBER ME TO THE DISTINGUISHED GUESTS OF THE EVENING AND EXTEND MY SALUTATIONS TO THE GREAT COMPANY OF FINE CITIZENS WHO BY THEIR PRESENCE TESTIFY THEIR SUPPORT AND THEIR DEVOTION TO THE PRICELESS HERITAGE OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

THE CLOSING GENERAL SESSION

OUR FATHER GOD, who hath made and preserved us a nation: Our fathers trusted in Thee and were not confounded. In Thee we trust.

Thou has taught us to love truth and beauty and goodness. In all our relationships as citizens of the Republic, this sweet land of liberty, may Thy truth make us free—free from littleness, pride and prejudice, and from all the ugly sins of disposition which so easily do beset us. May our patriotism be pure and undefiled. In all our aspirations and attitudes lift us, we pray Thee, above the mud and scum of mere things to the holiness of Thy beauty. Thus may the common tasks and the trivial rounds be edged with crimson and gold.

Lead us in the paths of righteousness for Thy Name's sake. Enrich us with those durable satisfactions of life, so that the multiplying years may not find us bankrupt in those things that matter most, the golden currency of faith and hope and love.

In these desperate and dangerous days in our national life, when the precious things we hold nearest our hearts are threatened by sinister forces without pity or conscience, help us to give the best that is in us against the wrong that needs resistance, and for the right that needs assistance and for the future in the distance, and the good that we may do. We ask it in the Name that is above every name. Amen

FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS
Chaplain of the United States Senate

"A TRIBUTE TO ALL OF YOU . . ."

JUSTIN MILLER, *president, National Broadcasting Company,* presiding

For those of us who have been working with this conference and with its antecedents over a period of years, it is a very great pleasure to see the way the conferences continue to grow and thrive, to see the inspiration which comes from these meetings, to see the enthusiasm of the folks who participate in them.

Personally, I am very happy to see the presence of more young people here this year. Some of us have been working on that point during past conferences. I had a little conversation out in the other room this morning, and we agreed that we are making significant progress; but we agreed also that we should go further in that direction. As we talked, a suggestion was made which I think might very well be presented to you: that it might be well, as the years go by, to think in terms of what we might call an Institute of American Citizenship here in Washington, with a building constructed for that purpose, in which young people who come here as delegates might be housed, where they might have an opportunity to visit and observe under appropriate circumstances. . . .

We are not afraid of youth. We who are old enough know how each generation regrets the unwillingness of youth to conform itself to the ideas of what we older folks think youth should be doing. That has been true of every generation, I am discovering. . . .

As long as each new generation comes to us unwilling to accept the conventions, full of curiosity, challenging our concepts, our disciplines, insisting on knowing why, bringing a new desire to change and improve, I think this old world really has hope for the future. Of course, the only way to capitalize upon those potentialities is to give youth a chance. . . .

I want to take this occasion to speak on behalf of those representative citizens who are here at this conference. Tributes have been made to particular individuals. Let me pay tribute to all of you, each a leader not only in your community but in making this great national conference the success and inspiration which it is. I think it is highly significant that we should all be traveling this road, participating in this conference. It is indeed a milestone on the timeless road which we travel as we preserve and strengthen the vital principles of democracy, as we recreate understanding on the part of our people concerning those privileges and obligations of citizenship without which our civilization could not be preserved.

As representatives of the far-flung millions who constitute the heart and soul of our country, our objective is not primarily our immediate or-

Miss Joanna Z. Connell and Mr. Robert F. Williams, members of the NEA Citizenship Committee and of the Conference Planning Committee, 1947-50; and Miss Laurentine B. Collins, former member of these committees and chairman of youth participation in the 1950 conference.

ganizational interests, although we cannot forget them, but the welfare of the nation and the well-being of the world. It is an honor to be a member of such a group.

I think you will agree also that it is particularly significant that in this conference you find education and law joined so purposely. The National Education Association and the Department of Justice have come here together on common ground. It is obviously common ground when you stop to think of the nature of citizenship and the way in which its objectives are to be achieved, although I suspect that it may be surprising to some people to think of them in the same breath. It is significant that they have joined in this united effort in making possible the opportunity for patriotic service in this conference.

TO THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
Vice President of the United States

YOU have been familiar during the last five years with the conferences which have been held on citizenship, with all the programs that have discussed citizenship and the ways and means by which it can be improved. The problem of citizenship relates itself not only to citizenship inherently, looking toward the goodness of man and of woman and of people in their personal relationships, but it has reference likewise to the community interest in good citizenship, the national interest in it, and world interest in it, because, since the world is no longer as large as it was when Christopher Columbus sailed the Atlantic Ocean for three months in search of the Indies and stumbled upon America, the inventive genius of man . . . has drawn all communities closer together. It has increased the interdependence of one man upon others, one community upon others, one state upon others, one nation upon others. Scarcely any event of any consequence can happen anywhere in the world without its repercussions upon every other community in the world.

We ourselves as a nation have learned the hard way that we can no longer repair to a storm cellar when there is a storm brewing or in progress anywhere in the world. We have learned the hard way that when a conflagration occurs elsewhere in the world we cannot be assured that our shores will not be scorched. The average of citizenship in the world is affected by the standards of it in any municipality in the world. Whatever drags it down in one section drags the average down in all sections. Whatever creates lawlessness or disregard for government or for organized society, or for the results which organized society has found it necessary to impose in any community or any state, drags it down everywhere so that the average is lower.

So we are concerned not simply with good citizenship from the standpoint of one's personal conduct, not simply from the standpoint of one's observance of the law so as to get by without prosecution or without the disrespect of the community. We have many citizens in all parts of this country and in the world who are satisfied to squeeze by just with the technical observance of the law so they will not be arrested or incarcerated because of any violation of the law. That is not the ideal which you hold forth in your conferences. That is not the ideal citizenship which we seek to achieve, and which we cherish, and which we know is essential to the development of our own civic pride and our own civic justice and the

community interest which ought to prevail and which, I am happy to say, is increasing everywhere.

Somewhere in the Bible it is said that if thy neighbor compel thee to go with him one mile, go with him twain. There is a beautiful lesson in that simple verse. As long as the man goes the one mile, which he is compelled to go by his neighbor, he is, more or less, a slave. He operates under the lash of compulsion; but the very moment he puts his foot beyond the one mile limit and starts out on the second mile, he is a free man, he moves under his own steam and not only is he a free man, but he possesses that pride which every man feels and ought to feel by going beyond the requirements of the law, going beyond the requirements of mere duty technically assessed and technically lived up to.

This lesson applies not only to a single human being, but it applies to groups of people in communities and organized society. I dare say that there has never been a monument erected to a one-mile man nor a song sung about him nor a poem written about him. It is the two-mile or the ten-mile or the twenty-mile men and women who go beyond the requirements of any technical observance of the rules of organized society in order to elevate the consciences in people, not only with reference to their personal conduct, but in reference to their relationship to one another and to their government. And there has never been a time in the history of the United States nor of the world itself when there was greater need for a general concept of duty as citizens that takes us beyond the mere technical requirements of law.

We are devoted in this country to the separation of church and state. It is a part of our fundamental law. The first Congress that met following the adoption of the Constitution submitted twelve amendments to the states. Ten of them were adopted. The other two were never adopted and were, as far as I recall, never rejected. The Constitution itself was ratified by the required number of states on the condition that there would be what has come to be called a Bill of Rights. . . . If it had not been for that understanding, it is doubtful whether the Constitution would have received the required ratification of nine out of thirteen states in order to become effective and set up a new government in these United States.

The First Amendment of the Constitution, the first one of the ten, is that one which declares that Congress shall pass no law affecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, so that we have it imbedded in our fundamental law that there is separation of church and state organically. But there can be no real separation in a man's own life or his own heart between his duty as a citizen and his duty as a Christian. It is impossible to draw a straight line before any man or any woman and

say that all on the right hand is civic duty and on the left is religious duty. They are coextensive and concurrent.

While we do have separation of church and state in which we all believe, we know likewise that it is the duty of the state or the nation (and I speak of the state in general terms) to guarantee to every citizen freedom of worship, the right to worship or not to worship, as he sees fit, the right to worship in a church or under a tree or out before the gigantic mountains or on the seashore as he listens to the rolling billows which have been rolling for perhaps millions of years. He knows, then, that the world is an old place. It is the duty of the state to protect religious organizations in their right to conduct their services without interruption. It became a civic duty of the government, when government took on the obligation to keep church and state separated, to protect religious worship and not to impose upon the people any requirements by law that they should worship at all or in any particular form.

This obligation is mutual between the church and the state. It is the duty of the church, of course, to preach and to practice and to evangelize in behalf of the higher standard of citizenship, moral conduct, the advocacy of righteous causes, the practice of community-concerted action in regard to the standard of citizenship, not simply regarding the law against burglary or murder or theft or arson or any of the formal statutes which prescribe what man shall and shall not do. It is the duty of the church to create an atmosphere in which it will be easier for the government—whether national, state or local—and easier for men in those communities to observe the laws which have been enacted for their own protection.

While we are fundamentally committed to this theory of the separation of church and state, in our relationship there is a mutual obligation that exists on both sides which cannot be escaped. And by the proper assessment and interpretation and acceptance of that mutual obligation, we may be able to use both the state and the church as a means of the elevation of the standard of life and of conduct, and of citizenship generally. So much for that, as it relates to our internal situation.

You have no doubt been told in this conference by men and women who are familiar with the world situation that probably there has never been a period in the history of mankind when the proper conceptions, the valid conceptions of a man's duty to his country and to his fellow men, are more important than they are today. Of course, citizenship grows out of government. It is part of government.

It is said that at one period in the history of Greece every man was qualified to perform any duty that his country might call upon him to

perform. That statement ought to be qualified by the observation that all the people of Greece were not at that time free and, therefore, it is not true that all Greeks were at any time qualified to perform any duty their state might call upon them to perform. But it is a happy ideal. It is one of the objects of our educational system. That is one of the reasons why we have public schools.

There was a time not so very long ago—a century and a half or more—when it was an accepted idea in certain quarters that the education of children was a private matter, purely a family affair, and that the state had no interest in it. It was a personal advantage that would accrue to children whose parents were able to educate them and the state had no concern in regard to that. We have long since abandoned that archaic theory.

It was Jefferson, I believe, who, in his relationships with his state of Virginia, insisted that there be public education, that the state—as an organized entity, as a voice and idea of organized society, the only entity with power to enforce its decrees (we have churches, Rotary clubs, fraternal organizations, all sorts of voluntary associations which are doing a great work in bringing about better understanding among the people, but they have no power to enforce their decrees; only the government can do that)—that the state has the duty of being interested in the advancement of learning in order that those who were permitted to take part in the government of their country by casting their votes would be able to discriminate between the true and the false, the genuine and the spurious.

That concept has come down now in our complicated life when it is more important than ever that we should have a general high standard of education and information, so that the most insignificant man who is required to pass upon national and international problems that are submitted to him every few years, if not every year, should be able to discriminate and pass judgment wisely for himself and for the generations yet to come—to pass judgment upon these complicated questions involving our own economic conditions and our relationships with the world and the peace of the world and the advancement in the standards of life of all peoples everywhere.

Long ago we accepted in this country (and it has been accepted in most civilized and liberty-loving countries) that the state, as such, owes a duty to its citizens, because, in order for that citizen to perform his duty toward the state in a most acceptable fashion, the state must aid him in attaining the qualifications which enable him to perform his duty to the highest possible degree. Because of this acceptance, we now have widespread institutions of public education in addition to our great universities and

colleges that are privately owned and privately endowed. The state has an interest as such, and you are the state.

I am not speaking of the state now as some austere, imaginary, visionary creature who lives off in the state capital or in the capital here, in Washington. I have never been able to visualize this Uncle Sam of ours as an austere, old gentleman sitting astride the dome of the Capitol here in Washington, looking around with self-complacency, drawing his salary, and doing nothing. Long ago the people got away from that conception, and the more of our citizens who are able to come to Washington and see how government is operated and see this beautiful city which belongs to them no less than to the people here in the District, the greater will be their respect for this old gentleman, their interest in him.

So we have come upon a time in our history when not only is it essential that we qualify our people for the highest exercise of government, which is voting, much more than holding office (although I probably would be regarded as insincere to say that, as long as I have held office). What I am speaking of, however, is the fundamental and primary obligation of citizens—not only the right, but the duty of men in the selection of those who are to represent them either in an executive, legislative, or judicial capacity—to have the highest possible qualifications intellectually and the highest possible conception of their moral duty to themselves and to their communities and to their posterity, and thereby have respect for their government, because of their belief in its justice, in its equity, in its equality, and in its democracy.

We hear much about democracy these days and we know that the world is now divided between two ideologies. One of them is totalitarian, ruthless, and, in my belief, entirely Godless, that seeks to destroy the faith of man in a traditional Creator and the blessings of that Creator which have been vouchsafed to us, and to set up in its stead a sort of state overlordship to destroy the individual—where the individual counts for nothing and the state is everything, where the individual is a mere pawn to be crushed under a juggernaut that is seeking to crawl all over the world and enthrone itself over the civic and individual rights of men. In opposition, is the democratic theory that the state is created for the citizen, that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no man is good enough to govern another man without that man's consent. That is our theory. That was Jefferson's idea; that was Abraham Lincoln's idea. That is our conception of democracy.

Now we are in a great world-wide struggle to preserve that conception and preserve its exercise. Because we desire to do this, we are undergoing

hardships never anticipated before in the history of this country. Five years after the termination of the greatest war in history, we are compelled to tax ourselves in order that we may keep ourselves prepared, that we may not be found wanting, that we may not be overtaken suddenly, and that we may encourage all the liberty-loving people of the world who are interested in the preservation of democracy and its expansion to set their feet on the solid foundation of economic equality and justice and restore their economic conditions, and, by the same token, their political institutions, so as to be in a position themselves to assert and enforce their conception of morality, of good citizenship and cooperation among all the people who believe in this theory as against those who would destroy it throughout the world.

It is inconceivable to me that it can be abolished. It is inconceivable to me that the spirit of liberty and democracy of the one-third of the people of the world (and that is what the free peoples represent now) will not be preserved. Out of the 2.1 billion human beings who inhabit this earth, about 700 million are under the domination of the totalitarian theory—not of their own volition, not even in the country which is the source of that ideology . . . whereas, the democratic ideology occupies about one-third of the world population, about 700 million. The other third is somewhat teetered between the two, not knowing precisely where it will land because it may not have the power to resist physical force.

The right to free citizenship, the right to pursue one's ambitions, the right to what we call free enterprise, the right to individual initiative, must be preserved in this country and in the world. Those who believe in the democratic ideal, those who believe in equality and democracy, those who believe in the high standards and concepts of citizenship, must gird their loins not only to protect their theory against its subversion and domination by the other, but they must also work together to elevate the standard of their own ideals and their own citizenship and their own democracy.

We boast in this country that we have the greatest liberties that have ever been enjoyed in the history of mankind, that we have the greatest democracy, that the individual citizen here has the greatest latitude of rights—all that is probably true. But we have not, by any means, reached perfection in democracy. We have not, by any means, reached the point where all of our people enjoy equality of rights.

And that was what Jefferson was talking about in his Declaration of Independence. "We hold these truths to be self-evident [not subject to argument, not subject to trial by jury, not subject to political resolutions adopted in convention, but self-evident], that all men are created equal,

that they are endowed by their Creator [not by government, not by man, not by institutions, but by their Creator] with certain inalienable rights." He used the "inalienable" because he had in mind that the individual who has those rights cannot alienate them; government cannot alienate them because they did not come from government.

We do not yet occupy that state of perfect democracy in which we can say that every man who is obligated to defend that democracy has a right to participate in it. I have always contended (and I feel more strongly about it now than ever) that no government has the right to reach its arm into every home in the land and take the best and put him in a uniform and send him all over the world to defend and protect democracy and, after he has defended it and protected it and preserved it, let him return to find it impossible to participate in the very democracy which he has helped to preserve.

We are trying gradually and earnestly to correct these defects, to bridge this gap between those who are citizens in the technical sense (by which I mean that they have the right to participate in government) and whose who are morally citizens regardless of the denial of their right to have a voice in the fashioning of that government or in the fashioning of their own destiny, of their own welfare.

All of these things affect a man's and a woman's conception of his duty to his government. That duty does not reach so far as to include the right of every man or any man to depend upon the government for everything. The relationship between government and citizenship is mutual. In our country, happily, we have never found our people wanting in any great crisis in which the right of our citizenship and our labor and our freedoms and our conceptions of man and his agencies have been involved.

Notwithstanding the criticisms that government is becoming too powerful, that there is too much big government—well, there is big government, but this is a big country. We have big business and we have big labor unions and we have big government and it is doubtful whether it is ever going to grow much smaller.

> The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
> Moves on: nor all your Piety nor Wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line
> Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it.

People require of their government from day to day and year to year more and more in the way of concerted activities. Think of flood control, soil conservation, rural electrification, old-age pensions, and all forms of social security. No man can develop those by himself; no state or county

can. There is only one agency that can, and that is the government of the United States. In response to the demands, requests and requirements of the people, Congress has frequently, and usually belatedly, come forward to meet the demands. I have great respect for Congress, but in the thirty-seven years I have been a member my experience has been that, by and large, the people are usually six months to one year ahead of their Congress. Before the war, the legislation regarding Lend-Lease and the repeal of the embargo, which was an agency for dictators, were things in which the people were far ahead of Congress. They wanted those things in behalf of the democratic nations—not as a handicap—and action was finally taken.

I recall that in 1939 President Roosevelt called a conference of Democrats and Republicans at the White House one night to take stock of the situation in regard to the repeal of the embargo law, which prevented us from sending even a popgun to any of the little nations that were threatened with attack in Europe whereas the big nations could make their own weapons of war. In that conference we took a count of our votes and we recognized that we did not have the votes in the Senate to repeal the Embargo Act. That was the 29th day of July. I recall that a very distinguished and able and, no doubt, sincere senator, who was at that conference and who is now deceased, made the statement that he had sources of information more reliable than those of the secretary of state and he knew there was not going to be any war in Europe.

Congress adjourned on the fifth of August 1939 and on the first day of September war broke out in Europe. Congress had to be called back to repeal the Embargo Act and do other things that were necessary in order that the democracies might have an equal chance—in order that they might fight autocracy and dictatorship with an equal chance by reason of being able to buy means of self-defense anywhere in the world, including the United States. Congress promptly passed a law, but it was 'way behind the need to do so.

So, when we talk about big government in this country, we don't want to be having a government that is so big that it will dominate and tower over the citizens; we don't, however, want it to be so small that it cannot protect the citizens and protect the rights of all our people and protect our institutions. We do have a big country—and we have big business and we have big labor and we have big government and we have big situations and big problems.

I congratulate those of you who have come here from year to year, and who from year to year will come, in order that you may carry back to your various communities and your organizations the messages which you,

no doubt, receive from one another (not necessarily from government officers, men in high stations) and the greater understanding that comes about by face-to-face talks about one another's problems. I dare say that you really get greater inspiration and greater encouragement and greater concrete means of promoting good citizenship in your own community from your mutual conferences and conversations than you do from any of us who happen to hold high office in this country.

We are but the servants of the people. We hope we are good servants. By and large, we are trying to be good servants, notwithstanding some reports to the contrary in certain circles. I hope I will be forgiven if I say that I hope the time may never come when either I or you must be required to look into the face of every man and woman with fear and suspicion as to their loyalty and their devotion to these ideals.

Now, my friends, I am happy to be here with you. I am sorry I did not have an opportunity to listen to all your discussions, but I am greatly encouraged by your numbers and your sincerity and by your devotion to the ideals of a greater diffusion among the people not only of the rights of citizens but of their ability and qualifications to perform the highest duties that are incumbent upon those who enjoy the rights of citizenship in this county and of their obligation to increase the enjoyment of those rights so that all those who are required to defend democracy may have a part in it.

We have become the leader among nations of the world not by the connivance of ourselves. Twice we have been compelled to enter world wars at which we did not connive and which we sought by every means to prevent. As a result of them, we have become the leaders. The torch of leadership and democracy has been placed in our hands. I believe all over the world men and women yearn for liberty, to lift their backs and straighten their broken and bent bodies and look into each other's faces as free men and women. They are hoping and praying that in some way our leadership, our patience, our forbearance, our tolerance, may light the way to happy lives in all the world, and a fuller realization of the obligations of citizenship among the people of every country, of every color, and of every tongue, may be achieved, together with a greater realization of their obligations to the great Creator of us all.

Out of these conferences, I hope you may renew your faith in yourselves, your faith in your fellow man, your faith in your institutions, and, greater than all of that, your faith in Him who holds in the palm of His hand the destinies of nations, and that we may help every man, woman and child in America and wherever our influence goes, more fully to realize that obligation of mutuality of interest, that respect, that pride and that faith.

THE TASK AHEAD

The United States Department of Justice and the National Education Association of the United States believe that the National Conferences on Citizenship have accomplished much. Citizenship programs throughout the country have gained impetus. Questionnaires following the Fifth National Conference gave evidence that hundreds of delegates who took part were inspired to greater effort.

However,

The objectives of the conference are not yet fully achieved;

The reasons set forth for the first conference have not lost their urgency;

Vigilance for our ideals and progress in democratic practices must be continued.

The National Education Association regards this work with the Department of Justice, and with the many organizations that are a part of these conferences, as a most important contribution to the national welfare. In drawing together the many facets of our national life; sitting down together to talk over differences and to seek common ground; together working for the future—we realize the unbounded strengths of democracy.

The task ahead is to increase our knowledge, our techniques, our devotion.

WILLARD E. GIVENS, *Executive Secretary*
National Education Association

ADDITIONAL RECORDS

EXCERPTS FROM THE SPECIAL CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION, NATURALIZATION, AND RELATED MATTERS

SPONSORED BY THE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1950

WATSON B. MILLER, *commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

It is good to learn first hand that the work the Immigration and Naturalization Service is doing—by itself or in cooperation with other agencies of the Federal Government—commands the interest of our fellow citizens. Your presence here this morning demonstrates in the best way possible your interest, and also indicates that it is friendly and cooperative.

My greetings to you as you start the deliberations outlined for us today. I am certain, as was the case last year, that much good will come out of them.

More of this sitting down together and talking over our mutual problems would certainly prove beneficial to all of us.

We can understand a lot better what your problems and needs are when we are face to face with you, rather than when they are presented to us through correspondence . . .

We are not the wisest men and women in the world. We need the composite of all experiences. Our groups (all agencies and organizations interested in some aspect of citizenship) must keep abreast of each other and in step with each other.

A. P. MACKEY, *deputy commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

The Immigration and Naturalization Service—in addition to having the responsibility for the admission, exclusion, and deportation of aliens—is charged with the registration and fingerprinting of aliens, the naturalization of noncitizens lawfully resident in the United States, the investigation of alleged violations of the immigration and nationality laws, and the prevention of unauthorized entry of aliens into the United States.

We share the responsibility of deciding which alien applicants may be granted American citizenship. We determine whether applicants for admission to the United States may enter, and whether aliens within our borders are subject to deportation. Many areas of our work bear a direct and important relationship to the security and welfare of our nation. All of it is concerned with the rights and status of human beings—and in this, I believe, lies its greatest importance.

We cherish and guard jealously our responsibility to the American people as a whole. In doing so we try to administer the law so that America may not only be protected from those who would enter to do her harm, but

that her life blood may be enriched by those coming "to seek their own in her good."

A. C. DEVANEY, *assistant commissioner, Adjudications Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

At the present time we have approximately 28,000 foreign students attending school in the United States. No one here, I am sure, will question the great value to the United States accruing from this kind of cultural exchange. Foreign students have an opportunity to observe at firsthand the strength and vigor of our democratic institutions. In most instances, they will return to their own countries with a real appreciation of what we call our American way of life.

A remark recently made by a foreign student to his faculty advisor at Cornell University is worth repeating. The student—a Chinese studying for a PhD in philosophy, who had been washing dishes in a cafeteria since funds from his homeland had been shut off—said: "I am very grateful to the United States Government for permitting me to work so that I could continue my studies. In no other country in the world, not even my own, would a foreign student be granted that privilege. Instead, he would be forced to give up his studies and leave the country."

JAMES J. MCTIGUE, *general counsel, Displaced Persons Commission*

Let me emphasize that the administration of the Displaced Persons Program is carried on within the framework of four basic principles—they are:

The security of the United States is paramount.

The economy and living standards of our country must be safeguarded and fortified.

The administration of the act must be honest, fair, and sensible.

The benefits of the act are not vested rights, and are to be accorded only to those who meet its requirements and standards, technical and substantive.

Freedom loving people everywhere have taken new hope because we have demonstrated that we live by the ideals which have made us a great nation.

RUTH B. SHIPLEY, *chief, Passport Division, United States Department of State*

As we stand today in the midst of a great "Cold War," battling for the principles of democracy, the circumstances of the immediate future present even more extenuating circumstances concerning expatriation than those through which we have just passed. . . .

There is no great change in world affairs that makes it wise or necessary or even desirable to cast away so lightly our citizens who have chosen this country above all others and inflict on them one of the gravest tragedies of all times—statelessness. There are many other instances with which you are

familiar which seem to indicate beyond any question that the present law works hardship never dreamed of by those enacting it . . .

Reviewing the position of our country today as we endeavor to bind up the wounds of the war and to aid in the economic recovery of many of the nations and also to the better conditions of the backward countries, we must seriously consider the spiritual and moral devastation wrought unintentionally by acts of our own law. It is our impelling duty to bring the nationality law into harmony with the declaration of human rights and the moral code of brother toward brother.

MARY L. GUYTON, *state supervisor, Adult Civic Education, Massachusetts*

As we know, immigration during the war years was low, so low that our classes in citizenship dwindled to some extent; but, with the reopening of immigration, the coming of the war brides, fiancees, and displaced persons, again our schools are facing a steady increase in attendance. To meet the responsibility of the educators, the United States Naturalization Service has inaugurated a plan which is most helpful. I refer to the excellent assistance rendered, on request, by forwarding to the local superintendent of schools or some public school official appointed by him to assume that responsibility, the names and addresses of those persons who are newly arrived from foreign countries and the names and addresses of those who have declared their intention of becoming citizens.

The local public school official assigned to the responsibility of adult citizenship training usually sends a cordial letter of welcome from the schools giving the time, location, and other information about classes to the newly arrived person. This letter is often followed by a telephone call . . . Often, too, personal calls are made. These newcomers are cordially welcomed at school, perhaps as they never were welcomed in any schools they ever attended . . .

In addition to teaching the necessary knowledge to a prospective citizen, it is so essential that we acquaint him with the American way of life. Have him participate in the facilities available to him in his community. Field trips are invaluable. Take members of your classes to the library, not walking in and out, but have them get a library card; assist them in taking out their first books in their own library. . . . Attend a city council meeting, a school committee meeting. Be the guest of the mayor and really see the employees at work carrying on the government of your city or town . . . In the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, this year, the supervisor has interested a group of Junior League girls to take the responsibility of this whole program of visitation . . . In the city of Lynn, the League of Women Voters is making a community analysis that will have unknown value in our citizenship education program . . .

READ LEWIS, *executive director, Common Council for American Unity*

What are some of the individual's responsibilities? They are of course many and varied, but perhaps we can group them under five heads:

His responsibilities as a worker or producer. Everyone must get a job and earn a living.

His responsibilities as a parent. Everyone must make a home. People have the duty to bring up a family.

His responsibilities as a voter.

His responsibilities as a member of society. These come in connection with the individual's relation to his community—his neighbor.

Lastly there are his responsibilities as an individual. These relate to self-development and to creative aspects and personality.

We need to keep in mind this broader range of responsibilities when we really come to consider the problem of good citizenship in the functional sense. The things we are interested in today are the higher sense of responsibility, and the belief in our own way of life.

DAN PYLE, *judge, St. Joseph Circuit Court, South Bend, Indiana*

All programs should be planned by someone who has only the objective in mind of helping persons of different cultures, different languages, and different life experiences to become satisfied and adjusted citizens in our republic.

How well the foreign-born people and their descendants keep the pledge given on the day of naturalization is illustrated by the way their sons and daughters enlisted in the First and Second World Wars to defend our common country and uphold its principles. On the court house lawn at South Bend there is a large board erected on which are printed the names of about five hundred and fifty boys who died in service in World War II. If you ever come to South Bend, pass by that way and read the names. The greater portion of them are names of various nationalities. I naturalized some of those boys who gave their lives. I naturalized some of their parents. Many times I stop and read the list, and, as I do, a realization comes that there is wealth and strength in all people, whether American-born or foreign-born.

L. PAUL WININGS, *general counsel, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

I feel certain that all of us have gained something more than inspiration from our meeting together here today. We have gained knowledge of how much time and thought other people are giving to these things in which we are all interested. If we haven't given you something new in your particular field, at least we have had an exchange of ideas, and this, as has been said so many times today, is fundamental to the American way of life.

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

(All meetings in Hotel Statler, unless otherwise specified)

Saturday, May 20

Special conference on problems of immigration, naturalization, and related matters, under auspices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service

Chairman: Mr. L. Paul Winings, *General Counsel, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice*

9:15 A.M. to 12:00 NOON
Presidential Room

Morning Session

Speakers

The Honorable Watson B. Miller, *Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization Service*

Mr. A. R. Mackey, *Deputy Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

Mr. A. C. Devaney, *Assistant Commissioner, Adjudications Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service*

The Honorable Ugo Carusi, *Chairman, Displaced Persons Commission*

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, *Chief, Passport Division, Department of State*

Discussant: Dr. Henry Nugent, *Supervisor of Adult Education, Rhode Island State Department of Education*

12:15 P.M. to 1:15 P.M.
Congressional Room

Luncheon, under the auspices of the Americanization School Association of the District of Columbia

1:30 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.
Presidential Room

Afternoon Session

Speakers

Miss Mary L. Guyton, *State Supervisor, Adult Civic Education, Massachusetts*

Mr. Read Lewis, *Executive Director, Common Council for American Unity*

The Honorable Dan Pyle, *Judge, St. Joseph Court, South Bend, Indiana*

Discussant: Dr. Henry B. Hazard, *Immigration and Naturalization Service, Retired*

Summation of the Conference

Commissioner Miller *assisted by* Chairman Winings

8:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.
The Americanization School Auditorium,
19th and California Streets, Northwest

Evening Session

Presiding: Dr. James T. Gallahorn, Jr., *Administrative Principal, Americanization Work*

"I Am an American Day" Celebration

Students of Americanization Day and Night Classes

Speech (illustrated by motion pictures): Mr. Julien Bryan, *Executive Director, International Film Foundation*

Sunday, May 21

Special Church Services

8:00 A.M. to 12:00 NOON
Congressional Room

Exhibit Preparation (exhibitors only)

2:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.
Second Floor Check Room

Registration

Congressional Room

Exhibits

5:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.
District Room (shift to Federal Room at 6:00 for dinner)

Dinner for Discussion Leaders Only

Presiding: Dr. Earle T. Hawkins, *President, State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland*

Training Team: Mr. Robert A. Luke, Dr. Ruth Cunningham, Dr. Stanley E. Dimond, Dr. Mildred Fenner.

7:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M.
District Room

Youth Orientation Meeting

(for youth representatives only—not adult leaders)

Moderator: Miss Laurentine Collins

7:00 P.M. to 8:30 P.M.
Preview Theater, Motion Picture Association, 1600 Eye Street

"Land of Liberty" (80-minute motion picture)

9:00 P.M. to 10:30 P.M.

"Land of Liberty"—Second Showing (70 tickets for each performance, available to first Delegates to request them at Registration Desk)

Monday, May 22

8:00 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.
Second Floor Check Room

Registration

9:00 A.M. to 9:45 A.M.
Congressional Room

Coffee Hour

(Admission by Delegate Badge)

Music, Marine Band Orchestra

Major William F. Santelmann, *Leader*

10:00 A.M. to 12:00 A.M.
Presidential Room

FIRST GENERAL SESSION

Presiding: The Honorable Carl B. Hyatt, *Director, The Attorney General's Citizenship Program*

Advancement of the Colors

American Legion National Guard of Honor

Captain Warren A. Hilleary, *Leader*

Invocation: The Reverend Matthew M. Hanley, O. P., *Dominican House of Studies, Catholic University of America*

National Anthem

Welcome: Dr. Andrew D. Holt, *President, National Education Association,* and The Honorable J. Howard McGrath, *Attorney General of the United States*

Statement of Conference Purpose: Mr. Evan E. Evans, *Chairman of the Conference Committee*

You ARE Your Government
The Honorable Irving M. Ives, *Senator from New York*

Intelligent Voting, Every Citizen Voting
Dr. Harold Foote Gosnell, Author of *Getting Out the Vote* and Other Authoritative Works

Retirement of the Colors
American Legion National Guard of Honor

1:00 P.M. to 3:00 P.M.
Presidential Room

GENERAL LUNCHEON

Presiding: Dr. Harold Benjamin, *Chairman, National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education*
Invocation: Mrs. Ruth G. Savoy, *Principal, Briggs-Montgomery School, Washington*
Chorus, Western High School
Mr. Harman Nicodemus, *Director*
Gladewater, Texas, Demonstrates Democracy: Mr. Mark Day, *Gladewater, Texas*
Louisville, Kentucky, Gets Out the Vote: Mrs. Russell T. Stuart, *President, League of Women Voters of Louisville, Kentucky*
A School Promotes Community Citizenship: Mr. Sylvester Siudzinski, *Vice Principal, Eugene Field School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin*
How a Newspaper Contributed to Accurate Information: John P. Lewis, Editor, *Journal-Transcript, Franklin, New Hampshire*
Intelligent Voting, Every Citizen Voting
Full Assembly Discussion
Leader: Dr. Stanley E. Dimond, *Director, Citizenship Education Study, Wayne University and Detroit Public Schools*

Tuesday, May 23

9:15 A.M. to 11:15 A.M.
Discussion Group Sessions
See Delegate Badge for Group Assignment
Topic: "Accurate Information, Life Blood of Citizenship"

12:00 NOON to 2:00 P.M.
Presidential Room

GENERAL LUNCHEON

Presiding: The Honorable Watson B. Miller, *Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization*
Invocation: William L. Bradford, *Boy Governor of New Jersey, YMCA Model Legislature*
Chorus, Roosevelt High School
Miss Emma Louise Thompson, *Director*
Thumbnail Reports of Discussions: Dr. Ruth Cunningham, *Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University*
Youth Discussion: Improving Citizenship Through Our Organizations
Leader: Miss Laurentine B. Collins, *Director, Department of School-Community Relations, Board of Education, Detroit*
Participants:
James H. Grant, *Boys Nation, American Legion, Florida*
Rogers Fike, *National First Vice President, Future Farmers of America, West Virginia*

Gloria Chomiak, *a 1949-50 National Winner, "Voice of Democracy" Contest, Delaware*
Rhonwyn Lowry, *4-H Club Member, Georgia*
Immanuel Wallerstein, *Young Adult Council, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York*

2:15 P.M. to 3:45 P.M.
Discussion Group Sessions
See Delegate Badge for Group Assignment
Topic: "Improving Citizenship Through Our Organizations"

4:00 P.M.
Reception by President Truman in the Rose Garden of the White House

7:00 P.M. to 10:00 P.M.
Presidential Room

DINNER (Informal)

Presiding: Dr. A. C. Flora, *Chairman, Board of Trustees, National Education Association*
Invocation: Rabbi William F. Rosenblum, *Temple Israel of the City of New York*
Chorus, Eastern High School
Mr. J. Jackson Summers, *Director*
We The Government
Dr. Andrew D. Holt, *President, National Education Association*
Loyal Citizens in Action
The Honorable J. Howard McGrath, *Attorney General of the United States*

Wednesday, May 24

9:15 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.
Congressional Room
Coffee Hour
(Admission by Delegate Badge)
Music, United States Army Band
Captain Hugh J. Curry, *Leader*

10:15 A.M. to 12:00 NOON
Presidential Room

FINAL GENERAL SESSION

Presiding: The Honorable Justin Miller, *Chairman, The Attorney General's Citizenship Committee*
Advancement of the Colors, *American Legion National Guard of Honor*
Invocation: The Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, *Chaplain of the United States Senate*
Thumbnail Reports of Dicussions
Dr. Ruth Cunningham, *Associate Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University*
Address: The Honorable Alben W. Barkley, *Vice President of the United States*
Formal Closing of the Conference
Mr. Evan E. Evans, *Chairman of the Conference Committee*
National Anthem
Retirement of the Colors, *American Legion National Guard of Honor*

GROUP LEADERS

VERNON E. ANDERSON, associate professor of education, University of Connecticut
ARNO BELLACK, executive secretary, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
IRMA BOGDANOFF, president, Prince George's County League of Women Voters, Maryland
ROBERT V. BOLGER, judge, Orphans' Court, Philadelphia
MARY ELLEN BRAIN, managing editor, *The Science Teacher*, National Science Teachers Association
RENA N. BROWN, teen age program director, Young Women's Christian Association of the District of Columbia
RYLAND W. CRARY, associate professor of history, Teachers College, Columbia University
HOWARD CUMMINGS, head, government and economics, Instructional Problems—Secondary, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency
RUTH M. EVANS, teacher, Denver, Colorado
CHARLES O. FITZWATER, assistant director, Rural Service, NEA
WILLIAM J. FLYNN, assistant national director, American Junior Red Cross
MARY L. GUYTON, state supervisor, Adult Civic Education, Massachusetts Department of Education
FRANKLIN P. HAWKES, director, Fair Education Practices, Massachusetts Department of Education
FRANCIS L. HURWITZ, executive secretary, Northeastern Regional Office, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
MARTIN JOHNSON, representative, National Association of Student Councils
VERNON JONES, chairman, Department of Education, Clark University
JOAN KAVANAUGH, president, University of Kentucky League of Women Voters
FLEMMIE P. KITTRELL, head, Department of Home Economics, Howard University
ALEX H. LAZES, director, School Civic Clubs, Board of Education, New York City
JERRY LOWERY, youth delegate, Junior Red Cross, Newburgh, Indiana
A. R. MEAD, head, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Florida
CORMA MOWREY, acting director of professional services, West Virginia State Education Association
MARIAM NELSON, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow School, Cambridge, Massachusetts
JOSEPH ROSIER, representative, Loyal Order of Moose
PHILIP SCHIFF, Washington representative, National Jewish Welfare Board
CURTIS SHEARS, president, Big Brothers of the District of Columbia
ROBERT A. SKAIFE, field secretary, National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education
W. T. SPANTON, chief, Agricultural Education Service, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency
KLAUDIA STEIDLE, senior, Woodrow Wilson High School, Washington, D. C.
VIRGINIA STITZENBERGER, community worker, Arlington, Virginia
GEORGE TRIEDMAN, special assistant to the attorney general
THOMAS A. VAN SANT, director of adult education, Mryland Department of Education
WILLIAM VAN TIL, professor of education, University of Illinois
WILLIAM S. VINCENT, director, Citizenship Education Planning Project, Teachers College, Columbia University
PHILIP WARDNER, English teacher, Garden City High School, New York
MARTHA WILDHACK, president, League of Women Voters, Arlington, Virginia

PLANNING COMMITTEE *(continued from page 8)*

F. ERNEST JOHNSON, executive secretary, Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
MORDECAI W. JOHNSON, president, Howard University
A. B. KAPPLIN, director, National Commission on Americanism and Civic Affairs, B'nai B'rith
ANNA M. KROSS, judge, Magistrates Courts, City of New York
MALVINA LINDSAY, feature writer, *The Washington Post*.
WILLIAM H. MCCONAGHY, director, Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, Presbyterian Church of the United States
WATSON B. MILLER, commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice
MRS. ERNEST M. ONSTOTT, representative, Girl Scouts of the United States of America
MRS. ROBERT P. PATTERSON, joint organizer, Junior Army-Navy Guild
HARRISON SAYRE, president, American Education Press
WILLIAM J. SHORROCK, editor, *Civic Leader*, Civic Education Service
ROBERT C. STEWART, director, Research and Publications, Department of Public Instruction of Delaware
MRS. HAROLD A. STONE, League of Women Voters of the United States
CARL C. TAYLOR, head, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture
MRS. CHARLES W. TILLETT, vice chairman, National Democratic Committee
JERRY VOORHIS, executive secretary, The Cooperative League of The United States of America
L. PAUL WININGS, general counsel, Immigration and Naturalization Service, United States Department of Justice

Planning Committee Alternates

HOWARD ANDERSON, chief, Instructional Problems, Division of Secondary Education, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency
WILLIAM BOUTWELL, editor, *Scholastic Teacher*, Scholastic Magazines
WALLACE J. CAMPBELL, director, The Cooperative League of the United States of America
HUGH CARTER, supervisor, General Research of Research, Education, and Information Division, Immigration and Naturalization Service
GEORGE H. FERN, assistant director, Education Department, National Association of Manufacturers
LOIS JOHNSON, editor, *American Junior Red Cross News and Journal*, American National Red Cross
G. FREDERICK STANTON, administrative assistant to the president, Howard University
MARY SYNON, editorial consultant, Commission on American Citizenship, Catholic University of America
MILDRED WHITE WELLS, publicity director, General Federation of Women's Clubs

ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES PARTICIPATING IN THE FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITIZENSHIP

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES COURTS
ADVERTISING COUNCIL, INC., THE
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON BETTER CITIZENSHIP OF LEONIA (NEW JERSEY)
AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
ALABAMA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
ALLENTOWN (PENNSYLVANIA) EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
ALLIANCE FOR GUIDANCE OF RURAL YOUTH
ALLIED YOUTH, INC.
ALPHA PHI OMEGA
ALTRUSA INTERNATIONAL, INC.
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR HEALTH, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND RECREATION, NEA
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF GROUP WORKERS
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF JUNIOR COLLEGES
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKERS
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS, NEA
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
AMERICAN BANKERS ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, CITIZENS COMMITTEE
AMERICAN CAMPING ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN DIETETIC ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP
AMERICAN EDUCATION PRESS, INC.
AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AMERICAN GOLD STAR MOTHERS
AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FAMILY RELATIONS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN JUNIOR RED CROSS
AMERICAN JUNIOR RED CROSS, *News and Journal*
AMERICAN LEGION, THE
AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN MEDICAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS
AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN SCHOOL BOARD JOURNAL
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
AMERICAN TEXTBOOK PUBLISHERS' INSTITUTE
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICAN VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II

AMERICAN VIEWPOINT, INC.
AMERICAN VOCATIONAL ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN WAR MOTHERS
AMERICAN WOMEN'S VOLUNTARY SERVICES, INC.
AMERICAN YOUTH HOSTELS, INC.
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